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by William Sherwood Fox*

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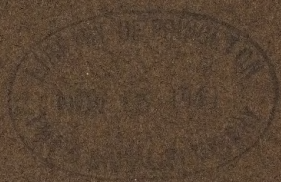
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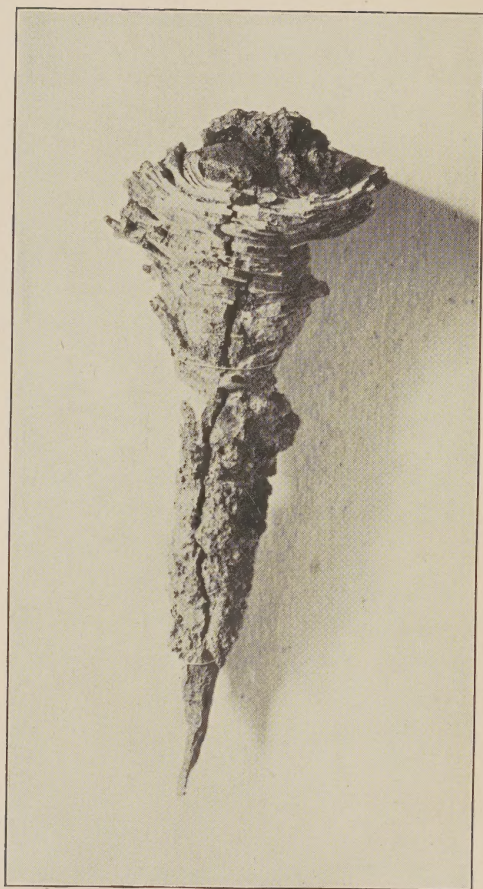


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PLATE I.



NAIL AND REMAINS OF LAMINAE (*Original Size*).



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FRAGMENT OF VESONIA (*Original Size*).

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# THE JOHNS HOPKINS TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface.....	4
Bibliography.....	5
Explanation of Signs.....	9
Chapter I. The <i>Tabellae Defixionum</i> of the Johns Hopkins University	
§ 1. History and description.....	11
§ 2. Reconstruction.....	12
§ 3. Description of the reconstructed tablets.....	14
Chapter II. Text and Annotation	
Text	
§ 1. Plotius .....	16
§ 2. Avonia .....	19
§ 3. Vesonía .....	22
§ 4. Secunda .....	25
§ 5. Aquillia .....	28
§ 6. Transcription of fragments which cannot be assigned to their original places.....	31
Annotation	
Plotius .....	33
Avonia .....	47
Vesonía .....	48
Secunda .....	49
Aquillia .....	50
Chapter III.	
§ 1. Palaeography of the tablets.....	51
§ 2. Number of hands .....	54
§ 3. Provenience .....	55
§ 4. Date.....	57
Indices .....	61

## PREFACE.

This monograph was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Harry Langford Wilson of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and through his courtesy the tablets herein published were placed at my disposal. To him I am greatly indebted for many valuable criticisms of the work in all its stages, as well as for practical assistance in such exacting tasks as the reading of the proof-sheets. I am grateful also to Professors Basil L. Gildersleeve, David M. Robinson, and Kirby Flower Smith for numerous illuminating suggestions as to the interpretation of the text. Finally, I wish to record here my deep appreciation of the generosity of Professor Gildersleeve in according me this space in *The American Journal of Philology*.

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, *March 8, 1912.*

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EXPLANATION OF THE SIGNS EMPLOYED  
IN THE TEXT AND INDICES.

- [ ] Includes letters lost through fracture of the lead.
- ( ) Includes letters omitted through the error of the scribe.
- <> Includes letters added through the error of the scribe.



## CHAPTER I.

### THE *Tabellae Defixionum* OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

#### § 1 History and Description.

In the year 1908 the Department of Classical Archaeology of the Johns Hopkins University acquired several *tabellae defixionum* popularly known as curse-tablets.<sup>1</sup> The person through whom the acquisition was made possible was unable to give a definite assurance as to their provenience, but stated his belief that they had been found at Rome. Thorough study of the tablets themselves has led to the conviction that they actually originated in that city. This point will be fully discussed at the proper time.<sup>2</sup>

The tablets were in two distinct divisions. One of these consisted of a nail .127 metres in length, the point of which was cloven into two long splinters each half as long as the whole nail. About the broad head were tightly bound by a thick accumulation of rust many exceedingly thin fragments of lead. On one side twenty-five layers could be counted, and on the opposite side twenty-eight.<sup>3</sup> The greatest width of this mass of fragments before it was subjected to the chemical treatment to be described shortly, was .051 and the smallest .048 metres.

The other division of the tablets consisted of a promiscuous heap of brittle chips of lead, no two being of the same shape and size. In thickness they varied from one to three millimetres, and in area from one-quarter of a square centimetre to thirty or forty square centimetres. Most of the fragments approximated the smaller area. On nearly every one were visible early Roman cursive characters that had been incised with a stylus. The incisions varied considerably in depth and distinctness. Another feature in which there was a marked lack of uniformity was color. Some pieces were characterized by the normal color

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary report of these was published by the author in the Johns Hopkins University Circular, New Series, 1910, No. 6, pp. 7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. III, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. I.



of lead; some were reddish, some bluish, and others of a shade midway between purple and brown. A little handling and scrutiny of the material revealed the fact that the variations in thickness and color bore a direct and fairly constant relation to one another. This was invaluable in the subsequent reconstruction of the tablets, as will be shown in a later paragraph. Besides the ground colors peculiar to the several fragments there was a coating of whitish powder and crystals covering the surfaces unevenly and this in certain places made the writing wholly illegible.

For the joint purpose of removing the coating and of accounting for the brittle condition of the lead, the mass on the nail and selected loose fragments were submitted to the chemists<sup>1</sup> for examination. Their report was that "the layers of the tablet have been changed in large part from metallic lead to compounds of lead by the action of soil or atmosphere or water. The whitish outer coating consists of a basic carbonate of lead, while underneath is another compound, probably litharge. In some instances there is an exceedingly thin layer of unchanged metallic lead". This whitish compound is evidently in part what Wünsch in his description of the Attic tablets poetically calls "the dust of ages".<sup>2</sup>

## § 2 Reconstruction.

The first step towards the reconstruction of the tablets was to select the loose fragments on which even a single stroke of writing was visible, though not necessarily decipherable. The result was two hundred and ten working fragments, one-third of which were very small. Those set aside as useless number apparently about three hundred. Each of the working fragments was deposited in its own separate and numbered envelope. The largest were then deciphered as far as the condition of their surfaces permitted without cleaning by chemical means, and in the process exact facsimiles were drawn on individual cards numbered to correspond to the envelopes just mentioned. This process supplied an alphabet and a number of broken lines of text, some of which recurred several times in slightly varied form. The alphabet served as a key to the obscure letters in the

<sup>1</sup> Professor S. F. Acree and Dr. E. K. Marshall, Jr. of the Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>2</sup> Wünsch, Richard, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, I. G. III 3, Praef. i.

smaller fragments still to be deciphered, while the broken lines gave a clue to the general sense and connection of the writing. The recurrence of certain words and groups of words suggested that the fragments represented not one tablet, but several, originally pierced by one and the same nail. The decipherment of the smaller fragments was carried on in the same manner.

The first attempt to assemble the parts in their original relation to one another was made only when the above stage of decipherment was completed. Several features served as guides in this restoration. These are, the sense of the text, the uniform relations between color and thickness of the lead, the presence of outer or top edges on a few fragments, and the appearance of writing on the reverse side of a relatively small number. On the other hand, there were many obstacles in the way of complete reconstruction, chief of which were the impossibility of making use of the portion of the lead still on the spike, and the similarity of outline in the broken edges. Obviously the latter difficulty could not be removed, but the former seemed not entirely insurmountable. In the hope that a few fragments might be released from the nail the chemists' aid was again sought. By the use of a weak solution of sulphuric acid they succeeded after several days in loosening nineteen fragments, which, however, proved to be of little value owing to their mutilated condition. As the acid was apparently rendering the lead too brittle to handle, it was thought wise to proceed no further with the experiment; moreover, it seemed improbable that any fragments saved would make a sufficient contribution to counterbalance the loss of so valuable a relic as the nail and its holdings. But in spite of the difficulties, the sense of the text, interrupted though it was, soon revealed the fact that we were dealing with five distinct tablets. With this established, the significance of the uniform relation between the color and the thickness of the fragments became obvious. It was found that those belonging to the tablet henceforth to be designated as Aquillia were very thin and alarmingly fragile and of a purplish-brown hue; those of Plotius were thin and bluish; those of Vesonius were thick and reddish, while those of Avonia were of a similar tinge but somewhat thinner; finally the fragments of Secunda were thin and of that dull gray shade characteristic of pure lead. In a few instances the presence of right, left, or top edges made it possible to locate some fragments with absolute definiteness to the right or to the left of the nail

or at the beginning of the tablet from which they had been broken. No lower edges were found. Where writing could be read on both sides it was usually easy to locate a fragment, as the obverse and reverse contexts afforded a sort of double check in their particular zones. After the application of this test it soon became apparent that only three of the tablets were opisthographic.

There now remained two or three dozen fragments too thickly coated with the deposit of lead carbonate to be legible. These the chemists treated with dilute nitric acid which after a very brief immersion readily dissolved the carbonate, but did not appreciably affect the body of the layer. In this way the majority of these fragments were made decipherable. The total number read was two hundred and twenty, and all but sixty-two could be located in their proper places with almost absolute certainty. Of this latter group thirty-nine could by the indications of color and thickness of the lead and by the style of handwriting be assigned with some degree of accuracy to the several tablets from which they came, but not to their original contexts.

### § 3 Description of the Reconstructed Tablets.

The facsimiles in black and white, which later accompany the text of the curse-formulae, were made only after reconstruction had been carried as far as conditions permitted. Photographic reproductions would of course be preferable, but owing to the fragmentary character of the material it was found impossible to obtain them. The present reproductions represent the actual size of the original tablets. They enable one to estimate with a fair degree of exactness the dimensions of the laminae before they were shattered. Were their edges without irregularities it would be possible to estimate their several areas to within a centimetre or two of the correct figures, as the general outlines of the pairs of opposite edges are practically parallel.

In the case of Aquillia the fragments are too few to bear out this statement; yet, if an attempt is made to reproduce in cursive writing its formula as supplemented from the other tablets, it will be found that most of the lines of the text are virtually uniform in length. Towards the end of the tablet some of the lines gradually become shorter, but on reaching their minimum length they return just as gradually to their average dimension. This points to a narrowing of the lamina at this part. In *Secunda* a



fragment from the lower right hand corner shows a slight tapering towards the bottom of the lamina. The experiment of reproducing the formula, however, in letters similar in size and form to those of the original reveals the fact that the left hand edge continues to the very bottom with a marked deviation from the straight line.<sup>1</sup>

To fit the present reconstruction to the broken layers on the nail is quite impossible. Nevertheless, one can determine the original order by comparing the character of the lead on the nail with the well-established character of the lead in the reconstructed tablets. The layers nearest the head of the nail undoubtedly belonged to Aquillia; Secunda<sup>2</sup> came next, then Avonia, then Vesonia, and lastly Plotius.

The fragments also tell us how the laminae were originally folded. On only one fold that is visible on the nail does writing appear on the outer, i. e. the convex side. Loose fragments, too, that have been broken at the line of folding have edges that turn slightly in towards the side bearing the text. Both of these observations lead to the inference that in general the tablets were rolled into cylindrical shape with the writing on the inside for protection against abrasion and for concealment from prying eyes; for should the writing be injured in any way the formula would be of no effect, or, should human eyes read it, counter-formulae might be composed or other means resorted to that might bring the evil of the formula back like a boomerang upon its author. The nail, when driven into such a yielding material as lead, packed the laminae together and created very pronounced lines of folding. Estimating the combined length of all the tablets at 148.3 centimetres, and allowing for twenty-seven layers, the average width of the folds was 5.5 centimetres. The widest fragment is one belonging to Vesonia (no. 12)<sup>3</sup> which measures 8 centimetres; some are no wider than 2 centimetres. These figures seem to indicate the two extremes of width.

<sup>1</sup> Very few *tabellae defixionum* are of greater superficial area than these. Cf. Aud. nos. 15 and 271.

<sup>2</sup> Thus designated for lack of a better name.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. I a.

## CHAPTER II.

### TEXT AND ANNOTATION.

#### § I Plotius.

Lead tablet 31.6 x 11.3 cm. without writing on the reverse.  
A preliminary transcription without restoration was published in  
The Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1910, No. 6, pp. 8-9.

- bona · pulchra proserpina .lut.nis · uxor  
seiue · me · saluam deicere · oportet  
eripias · salutem · c.....lorem · uires · uirtutes ·  
ploti · tradas · .....uiro · tuo · ni · possit · cogitati  
5 sueis · hoc · uita .....illunc · \ onibus  
febri · quartan.e · t.....nae · cottidia.ae  
quas · .....uct.....  
eu..cant.....usq.....  
...s · eripia.....nc · uictimam  
10 tibi · trad.....rpi.....e · me  
proserpin.....ue · m.....<sup>iam</sup>eruos dicere  
oportet · m.....rcessitum · canem  
tricepitem · qui.....cor · eripiat · polliciar  
illi · te · daturum t.es · uictimas · \ us  
15 palma.....rica · por.um · nigrum ·  
hoc · sei · pe...cerit.....  
m.....r.....  
cum · compote · fe...is · do tibi · cap..  
ploti · auon.....oserpina · s.....  
20 do tibi · fron.....ti · proserpina · saluia  
do ... b. su.....ploti · proserpin.  
saluia do.....s · plo..

1. *...לעולם...*

2. *...לעולם...*

3. *...לעולם...*

4. *...לעולם...*

5. *...לעולם...*

10. *...לעולם...*

15. *...לעולם...*

20. *...לעולם...*

25. *...לעולם...*

30. *...לעולם...*

35. *...לעולם...*

40. *...לעולם...*

45. *...לעולם...*





- proserpina · sa.....  
 ploti · proser .....s  
 25 labra · or.....m lin.uam ·  
 dentes p.....ni dicere · possit ·  
 plotius · quid.....at · collum ·umeros  
 bracchia · d.git.....ssit · aliquid ·  
 se · adiutare...c.....cinera · cor ·  
 30 pulmones · n.....sentique · quit ·  
 sibi · doleat.....tina · uenter · um. licu.  
 latera .i p...it · dormire · scapulas  
 ni · poss.. s.nus · dormire · uiscum ·  
 sacrum · nei · possit · urinam · facere ·  
 35 natis · anum ...ina · genua  
 ..... · tibus pe.....  
 .....s · ungis · ni · po.....tare · ...  
 ..rt.te · seiue....s · seiue · paruum  
 scrip..... quomodo · quicqu..  
 40 legitim..... mandauit · seic  
 ego ploti · ti.....ado · mando  
 ut · tradas .....nse · februari.  
 .cillunc · mal.....e · exset  
 ...e · disperd.....das · ni · possit ·  
 45 .....s ullum.....ere ·  
 .....re

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

Bona pulchra Proserpina, [P]lut[o]nis uxor,  
 seiue me Saluiam deicere oportet,  
 eripias salutem, c[orpus, co]lorem, uires, uirtutes  
 Ploti. Tradas[Plutoni] uiro tuo. Ni possit cogitati  
 5 sueis hoc uita[re. Tradas] illunc \ onibus  
 Febri quartan[a]e, t[ertian]ae, cottidia[n]ae,  
 quas [cum illo l]uct[ent, deluctent; illunc]

- eu[in]cant, [uincant], usq[ue dum animam  
 eiu]s eripia[nt. Quare ha]nc uictimam  
 10 tibi trad[o, Prose]rpi[na, seiue me,  
     Proserpin[a, seiue m[e Ach]eru<sup>iam</sup>os dicere  
 oportet. M[e mittas a]rcessitum canem  
 tricepitem, qui [Ploti] cor eripiat. Polliciar  
 illi te daturum t[r]es uictimas— \ us  
 15 palma[s, ca]rica[s], por[c]um nigrum—  
 hoc sei pe[rfe]cerit [ante mensem]  
 M[artium. Haec, P]r[oserpina Saluia, tibi dabo]  
 cum compote fe[cer]is. Do tibi cap[ut]  
 Ploti Auon[iae. Pr]oserpina S[aluia],  
 20 do tibi fron[tem Plo]ti. Proserpina Saluia,  
 do [ti]b[i] su[percilia] Ploti. Proserpin[a]  
 Saluia, do [tibi palpebra]s Plo[ti].  
 Proserpina Sa[luia, do tibi pupillas]  
 Ploti. Proser[pina Saluia, do tibi nare]s,  
 25 labra, or[iculas, nasu]m, lin[g]uam,  
 dentes P[loti], ni dicere possit  
 Plotius quid [sibi dole]at: collum, umeros,  
 brachia, d[i]git[os, ni po]ssit aliquit  
 se adiutare: [pe]c[tus, io]cinera, cor,  
 30 pulmones, n[i possit] senti(re) quit  
 sibi doleat: [intes]tina, uenter, um[b]licu[s],  
 latera, [n]i p[oss]it dormire: scapulas,  
 ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire: uiscum  
 sacrum, nei possit urinam facere:  
 35 natis, anum, [fem]ina, genua,  
 [crura], tibias, pe[des, talos, plantas,  
 digito]s, ungis, ni po[ssit s]tare [sua  
 ui]rt[ute. Seiue [plu]s, seiue paruum  
 scrip[tum fuerit], quomodo quicqu[id]  
 40 legitim[e scripsit], mandauit, seic  
 ego Ploti ti[bi tr]ado, mando,

ut tradas, [mandes me]nse Februari[o]  
e]cillunc. Mal[e perdat, mal]e exset,  
[mal]e disperd[at. Mandes, tra]das, ni possit  
45 [ampliu]s ullum [mensem aspic]ere,  
[uidere, contempla]re.

§ 2 Avonia.

Lead tablet 29 x 11.3 cm., with writing across the back about midway between the upper and lower edges.

A

.ona · pu.....roserpina · plutoni.  
.xsor · seiue ..... · deicere · oportet ·  
eripias · salu....corp.. colorem · uires ·  
uirtutes au..ia..t.adas · plutoni ·  
5 uiro tuo.....onibus · s.....  
quicqui. uit.....  
febri quart..ae · t.....  
quas cum · illa .ucten .....  
euincant · uinca.....  
10 eius · eripiant · ..are hanc · uictimam  
.... trado .....a · seiue · me  
....erpina · se.....eruosiam dicere  
...rtet · me · m.....cessitum · cane.  
.....te.....s cor eripiat  
15 .....urum · tres · uictim..  
palmas · carica.....grum · hoc · sei ·  
perfecerit · an.....martium · haec  
....ia tibi · dabo cu. · compotem · feceris  
do tibi caput auon...s pr...rpina · saluia · d.  
20 tibi · frontem auonia....oserpina · saluia  
do tibi · supercilia .....aes · proserpina  
..luia · do · tibi · palpe...s auoniaes · proserpi..  
..alu.a · do ..bi · pupillas ..onia.s  
...uia · do · t... oricula....bra .....nasum

- 25 ..ntes · liguam · auon.....e · possit  
 ...nia · quid · s.bi ...eat .....s  
 ..acchia · digito.....possit · ali....  
 se adiutare · pec.....nera · cor  
 pulmones · ni ..... quit · sentire ·  
 30 quit · sibi · dolea.....ina · uenter ·  
 umblicus · scapul.. latera · ni · po....  
 dorm.re · uiscum sac.um · ni possi.  
 urinam · f...re ....s · femina ·  
 anum · gen.....a · tibias · pedes  
 35 talos .la.....tos · ungis · ni ·  
 ..ssit .....su.....te seiue  
 plus · ....e p..uum ....ptum  
 fuerit · quomodo · quicqui.....me ·  
 scripsit · mandau....eic · ego ...niam  
 40 tibi · trado man.. ut · tradas .....  
 .ensi februario.....xs..

The remainder of the formula is continued on the back of the tablet, the writing running in the opposite direction to that on the face.

## B

- male · disperd.....nd.....adas  
 nei · po.s.t ampli.. ull..  
 men.em aspicere · ui....  
 45 contemplare

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

- [B]ona pu[lchra P]roserpina, Plutoni[s  
 u]xsor, seiue [me Saluiam] deicere oportet,  
 eripias salu[tem], corp[us], colorem, uires,  
 uirtutes Au[on]ia[e]. T[r]adas Plutoni  
 5 uiro tuo. [Ni possit cogitati]onibus s[ueis hoc]  
 quicqui[d] uit[are]. Protinus tradas illanc]







- Febri quart[an]ae, t[ert]ianae, cottidianae],  
 quas cum illa [l]ucten[t, deluctent ; illanc]  
 euincant, uincan[t, usque dum animam]  
 10 eius eripiant. [Qu]are hanc uictimam  
 [tibi] trado, [Proserpin]a, seiue me,  
 [Pros]erpina, se[iue me Ach]eruosiam dicere  
 [opo]rtet. Me m[ittas a]rcessitum cane[m  
 tricipi]te[m, qui Auoniae]s cor eripiat.  
 15 [Pollicearis illi te dat]urum tres uictim[as]—  
 palmas, carica[s, porcum ni]grum—hoc sei  
 perfecerit an[te mensem] Martium. Haec,  
 [Salu]ia, tibi dabo, cu[m] compotem feceris.  
 Do tibi caput[A]uon[iae]s. Pr[ose]rpina Saluia, d[o]  
 20 tibi frontem Auonia[e. Pr]oserpina Saluia,  
 do tibi supercilia [Auoni]aes. Proserpina  
 [Sa]luia, do tibi palpe[bra]s Auoniaes. Proserpi[na  
 S]alu[i]a, do [ti]bi pupillas [Au]onia[e]s. [Proserpina  
 Sal]uia, do t[ibi] oricula[s, la]bra, [nares], nasum,  
 25 [de]ntes, liguam Auon[iae, ni dice]re possit  
 [Auo]nia quid s[i]bi [dol]eat: [collum, umero]s,  
 [br]acchia, digito[s, ni] possit ali[quid]  
 se adiutare: pec[tus, ioci]nera, cor,  
 pulmones, ni [possit] quit sentire  
 30 quit sibi dolea[t: intest]ina, uenter,  
 umblicus, scapul[as], latera, ni po[ssit]  
 dorm[i]re: uiscum sac[r]um, ni possi[t]  
 urinam f[ace]re: [nati]s, femina,  
 anum, gen[ua, crur]a, tibias, pedes,  
 35 talos, [p]la[ntas, digi]tos, ungis, ni  
 [po]ssit [stare] su[a uirtu]te. Seiue  
 plus, [seiu]e p[ar]uum [scri]ptum  
 fuerit, quomodo quicqui[d legiti]me  
 scripsit, mandau[it, s]eic ego [Auo]niam

- 40 tibi trado, man[do], ut tradas [illanc  
m]ensi Februario. [Male perdat, male e]xs[eat],

## B

- male disperd[at]. Ma]nd[es, tr]adas,  
nei po[s]s[i]t ampli[us] ull[um]  
men[s]em aspicere, ui[dere],  
45 contemplare.

## §3 Vesonias.

Lead tablet 30.3 x 11.5 cm. with writing on the reverse midway between the ends.

## A

- bona · pulch.....a · plutonis · uxor  
seiue · me · s..uia.....e · oportet · eripias ·  
salutem · c.rpus colorem · uires · uirtutes  
maximae · uesoniae · tra....pluton.  
5 uiro ... ni · poss.....gitationibus · su.....  
quicq.....tinu..tra.....  
febri · qu.....anae .....  
quas · cum illa · luc .....  
eu.ncant · uincan...sque · dum · anima.  
10 e... eripiant · q...e hanc · uictima.  
tibi · trad. · p.....ue · me · pros.....  
seiue · me.....dicere · oportet....  
mitta.....m · canem tr..ep....  
qui.....e cor · er..iat  
15 polli.....turum · tres uictimas  
palm .....um · nigrum  
hoc · sei .erf.....te · mense · martium ·  
ha.c .....a ti.....cum · compote.  
fece..s · do tibi · ca....max.m.e · uesoniae  
20 p....pina s.lui. do · tibi frontem  
ma.imae.....ae · proserpina s.....  
do tibi · super.....esonias · proserpina







- saluia · do tibi · palpetras · maximae · uesoni..  
 proserpina saluia · do · tibi · pupillas · uesoniae  
 25 proserpina · saluia · do tibi · oriclas · labras ·  
 nares · nasum · lingua · dentes · maximae  
 uesoniae · nei · dicere · possit · maxima ·  
 uesonia · quid · sibi · doleat · collum ·  
 umeros bra.....digitos · ni · possit · aliq  
 30 se....utar.....inera · cor \ uit  
 pulmone.....t · sentire · quit.....  
 doleat · i...st....uenter · umb.....  
 scapulae.....ni.....  
 uiscu.....n.....rina.  
 35 face.....  
 genua...bia.....a pedes  
 talos.....s · ungis · ni ·  
 possit · sta.....tute · seiue · plus ·  
 seiue · par.....m fuerit ·  
 40 quomod.....scripsit  
 man.....ax..am  
 ueso.....

The remainder of the formula is continued on the reverse of the tablet, the writing running in the same direction as that on the face.

## B

- trado m.....nc ·  
 mensi · februar.....male ·  
 45 male · perdat.....x. et ·  
 male · disp.rdat · tr.das  
 ni · possit..mpliu. ullum ·  
 .ensem · aspi.ere uid.re ·  
 contemplar.

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

- Bona pulch[ra Proserpin]a, Plutonis uxor,  
 seiue me S[al]uia[m dicer]e oportet, eripias  
 salutem, c[o]rpus, colorem, uires, uirtutes  
 Maximae Vesoniae. Tra[das] Pluton[i]  
 5 uiro [tuo]. Ni poss[it co]gitationibus su[eis hoc]  
 quicq[uid uitare. Pro]tinu[s] tra[das illanc]  
 Febri qu[artanae, terti]anae, [cottidianae],  
 quas cum illa luc[tent, delucent; illanc]  
 eu[i]ncant, uincan[t, u]sque dum anima[m]  
 10 e[ius] eripiant. Q[uar]e hanc uictima[m]  
 tibi trad[o], P[roserpina, sei]ue me, Pros[erpina],  
 seiue me [Acherusiam] dicere oportet. Me]  
 mitta[s arcessitu]m canem tr[ic]ep[item],  
 qui [Maximae Vesonia]e cor er[ip]iat.  
 15 Polli[cearis illi te da]turum tres uictimas—  
 palm[as, caricas, porc]um nigrum—  
 hoc sei [p]erf[ecerit an]te mense Martium.  
 Ha[e]c, [Salui]a, ti[bi dabo], cum compote[m]  
 fece[ri]s. Do tibi ca[put] Max[i]mae Vesoniae.  
 20 P[roser]pina S[a]lui[a], do tibi frontem  
 Ma[x]imae [Vesoni]ae. Proserpina S[aluia],  
 do tibi super[cilia V]esoniaes. Proserpina  
 Saluia, do tibi palpetras Maximae Vesoni[ae].  
 Proserpina Saluia, do tibi pupillas Vesoniae.  
 25 Proserpina Saluia, do tibi oriclas, labras,  
 nares, nasum, lingua, dentes Maximae  
 Vesoniae, nei dicere possit Maxima  
 Vesonia quid sibi doleat: collum,  
 umeros, bra[cchia], digitos, ni possit aliq  
 30 se[adi]utar[e: pectus, ioc]inera, cor, \ uit  
 pulmone[s, ni possi]t sentire quit sibi



- doleat: i[n]te]st[ina], uenter, umb[licus],  
 scapulae, [latera], n[i possit dormire]:  
 uiscu[m sacrum], n[i possit u]rina[m]  
 35 face[re: natis, anum, femina],  
 genua, [ti]bia[s, crur]a, pedes,  
 talos, [plantas, digito]s, ungis, ni  
 possit sta[re sua uir]tute. Seieue plus,  
 seieue par[uum scriptu]m fuerit,  
 40 quomod[o quicquid legitime] scripsit,  
 man[dauit, seic ego M]ax[im]am  
 Veso[niam, Proserpina, tibi]

## B

- trado, m[ando, ut tradas illa]nc  
 mensi Februar[io. Male], male,  
 45 male perdat, [male e]x[s]et,  
 male disp[e]rdat. Tr[a]das,  
 ni possit [a]mpliu[s] ullum  
 [m]ensem aspi[c]ere, uid[e]re,  
 contemplar[e].

## § 4 Secunda.

Lead tablet 30.4 x 16.5 cm. with writing on the reverse beginning at the lower end. Nothing of this tablet is preserved to the left of the longitudinal axis.

## A

- .....seieue • me •  
 .....c.rpus  
 .....irt.....i tra.as •  
 .....us•su..s•hoc .  
 5 .....tan.e  
 .....s cu.....uctent •  
 .....uin.....nt • usque •  
 .....s...ipia.....re • hanc •  
 .....tra .....seieue • me •

- 10 .....dicere ·  
       .....nem ·  
       .....pia....lliciarus  
       .....lmas ·  
       .....fecerit  
 15 .....ina · tibi ·  
       .....is · do · tibi ·  
       .....a · do · tibi  
       .....luia do tibi ·  
       .....luia do tibi ·  
 20 .....do tibi · pupillas ·  
       .....ares · labra  
       .....asum ·  
       .....quid.....leat ·  
       .....acc....dig.....possit ·  
 25 .....ect.....nera ·  
       .....sit · sen.....quit ·  
       .....nter umblicus ·  
       .....cap..as · ni  
       .....m · sacrum  
 30 .....f.....num  
       .....u.....as · pedes  
                                   B  
       .....ni ·  
       .....tu.....ue  
       .....um  
 35 .....q..t · legitime  
       .....seic ego  
       .....tibi trado  
       .....llun..m.nsi  
       .....o mal...erd.t · male  
 40 .....rd.t · m.....das  
       .....m · m....m aspicere  
       .....







Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

[Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor], seiue me  
[Saluiam dicere oportet, eripias salutem], c[o]rpus,  
[colorem, uires, u]irt[utes .....]i. Tra[d]as  
[Plutoni uiro tuo. Ni possit cogitationib]us su[ei]s  
hoc

- 5 [quicquid uitare. Tradas illunc Febri quar]tan[a]e,  
[tertianae, cottidianae, qua]s cu[m illo l]uctent,  
[deluctent; illunc e]uin[cant, uinca]nt, usque  
[dum animam eiu]s [er]ipia[nt. Qua]re hanc  
[uictimam tibi] tra[do, Proserpina], seiue me,  
10 [Proserpina, seiue me Acherusiam] dicere  
[oportet. Me mittas arcessitum ca]nem  
[tricipitem, qui .....i cor eri]pia[t. Po]lliciarus  
[illi te daturum tres uictimas—pa]lmas,  
[caricas, porcum nigrum—hoc sei per]fecerit  
15 [ante mensem Martium. Haec, Proserp]ina, tibi  
[dabo, cum compotem fecer]is. Do tibi  
[caput.....i. Proserpina Salui]a, do tibi  
[frontem.....i. Proserpina Sa]luia, do tibi  
[supercilia.....i. Proserpina Sa]luia, do tibi  
20 [palpebras.....i. Proserpina Saluia], do tibi  
pupillas  
[.....i. Proserpina Saluia, do tibi n]ares, labra,  
[orículas, linguam, dentes, n]asum  
[.....i, ni dicere possit ....ius] quid [sibi do]leat:  
[collum, umeros, br]acc[hia], dig[itos, ni] possit  
25 [aliquid se adiutare: p]ect[us, ioci]nera,  
[cor, pulmones, ni pos]sit sen[tire] quit  
[sibi doleat: intestina, ue]nter, umblicus,  
[latera, ni possit dormire: s]cap[ul]as, ni

- [possit sanus dormire : uiscu]m sacrum,  
 30 [ni possit urinam] f[acere : natis, a]num,  
 [femina, gen]u[a, crura, tibi]as, pedes,

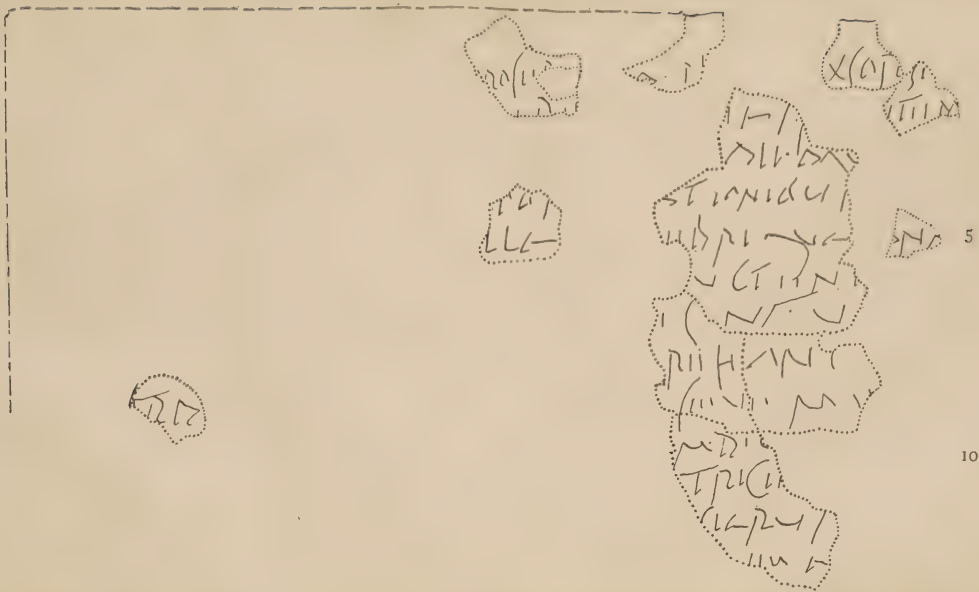
## B

- [talos, plantas, digitos, ungis], ni  
 [possit stare sua uir]tu[te. Sei]ue  
 [plus, seiue paruum script]um  
 35 [fuerit, quomodo quic]q[ui]t legitime  
 [scripsit, mandauit], seic ego  
 [. . . . .] tibi trado,  
 [mando, ut tradas i]llun[c] m[e]nsi  
 [Februari]o. Mal[e p]erd[a]t, male  
 40 [exseat, male dispe]rd[a]t. M[andes, tra]das,  
 [ni possit amplius ullu]m m[ense]m aspicere,  
 [uidere, contemplare].

## § 5 Aquillia.

Lead tablet 27 x 15.4 cm. without writing on the reverse.

- . . . . .proser...a • pl. . . . .xsor se...  
 . . . . .ere . . . . .ias • s.utem  
 . . . . .ae • aqu. . . . .  
 . . . . .pos. . . . .ationibus. . . . .  
 5 . . . . .lla. . . . .ebri qua..ana.  
 . . . . .uctent  
 . . . . .ncant • u. . . . .  
 . . . . .re hanc  
 . . . . .tra. . . . .seiue me  
 10 . . . . .m • dic. . . . .  
 . . . . .trice. . . . .  
 . . . . .ciarus  
 . . . . .ma. . . . .  
 . . . . .







- 15 .....  
 .....  
 .....pros.....o t..i.....  
 .....serpin.....d....bi su.....  
 .....  
 20 .....ros.....pilla.  
 .....o t.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 25 .....diuta.....  
 .....es.....  
 .....nt.....  
 .....  
 .....cum....rum  
 30 .....f.....  
 .....s \* cru.....  
 .....tos \* .....  
 .tare sua.....  
 seiue paru.....riptum.....  
 35 .....leg.....psi.  
 .....se.....  
 .....das m.....  
 .....  
 ....erd.....  
 40 .....

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

[Bona pulchra] Proser[pin]a, Pl[utonis u]xsor, se[iue  
 me Saluam dic]ere [oportet, erip]ias s[al]utem,  
 [corpus, colorem, uires, uirtutes .....]ae Aqu[illiae].  
 Tradas Plutoni uiro tuo. Ni] pos[sit cogit]ati-  
 onibus [sueis

5 hoc quicquid uitare. Tradas i]lla[nc F]ebri  
 qua[rt]ana[e,

- tertianae, cottidianae, quas cum illa l]ucent,  
[delucent: illanc euincant, ui]ncant, u[sque  
dum animam eius eripiant. Qua]re hanc  
[uictimam tibi] tra[do, Proserpina], seiue me,  
10 [Proserpina, seiue me Acherusia]m dic[ere oportet.  
Me mittas arcessitum canem] trice[pitem,  
qui .....ae Aquilliae cor eripiat. Polli]ciarus  
[illi te daturum tres uictimas—pal]ma[s, caricas,  
porcum nigrum—hoc sei perfecerit ante mensem  
15 Martium. Haec, Proserpina Saluia, tibi dabo, cum  
compotem feceris. Do tibi caput .....ae  
Aquilliae]. Pros[erpina Saluia, d]o t[ibi]i [frontem  
.....ae  
Aquilliae. Pro]serpin[a Saluia], d[o ti]bi su[per-  
cilia  
.....ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Saluia, do tibi palpe-  
bras  
20 .....ae Aquilliae. P]ros[erpina Saluia, do tibi  
pu]pilla[s  
.....ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Saluia, d]o t[ibi]  
nares,  
labra, oriculas, nasum, linguam, dentes .....ae  
Aquilliae, ni dicere possit .....a Aquillia quid  
sibi doleat: collum, umeros, brachia, digitos,  
25 ni possit aliquid se a]diuta[re: pectus,  
cor, iocinera, pulmon]es, [ni possit sentire  
quid sibi doleat: i]nt[estina, uenter, umblicus,  
latera, ni possit dormire: scapulas, ni  
possit sana dormire: uis]cum [sac]rum,  
30 [ni possit urinam facere]: f[emina,  
natis, anum, genua, tibia]s, cru[ra, pedes,  
talos, plantas, digi]tos, [ungis, ni possit,  
s]tare sua [uirtute. Seiue plus],  
seiue paru[m sc]riptum [fuerit,

35 quomodo quicquid] leg[itime scri]psi[t,  
 mandauit], se[ic ego Aquilliam tibi trado,  
 mando, ut tra]das, m[andes illanc mense  
 Februario. Male perdat, male exseat, male  
 disp]erd[at. Mandes, tradas, ni possit amplius  
 40 ullum mensem aspicere, uidere, contemplare].

§ 6 Transcription of fragments which cannot be assigned  
 to their original places.

(a) Probably belonging to Plotius.

	120	129
1	a	ri
2	a	.

(b) Probably belonging to Avonia.

	208
1	se
2	ra

(c) Probably belonging to Secunda.

	52 (obv.)	52 (rev.)	87	126	131
1	o ti	u	.	.ru	r..a
2		t	dice[re]		[po]ss[i]t
3			e		

	148	157 (obv.)	157 (rev.)	170	193
1	..s(?)	.u	m	ic	n

(d) Probably belonging to Aquillia.

	54c	56	58	95
1	n	..	[Pros]erpi[na]	ep...u.
2	in	.ua		
3	.			

	114	125	135	137	153
1	o(?)ra	au	....q	.	e
2		.	r	r	ae

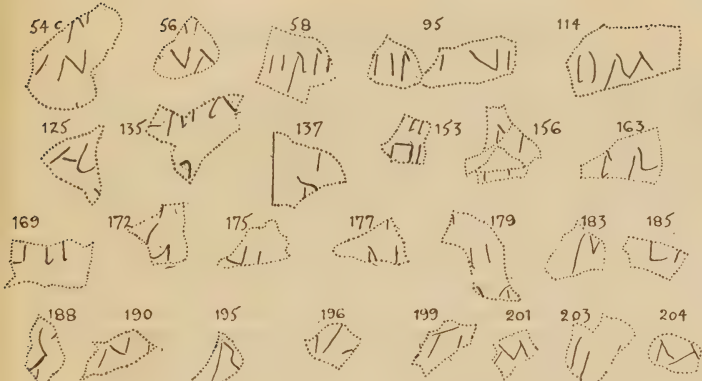
	156	163	169	172	175	
1	p.	Pro[serpina]	[sei]ue	.	ui	
2	..			g		
	177	179	183	185	188	190
1	.	.	m(?)	la	c.	n.
2	r.	e			s	
3		r				
	195	196	199	201	203	204
1	r	ia	ti	m	[po]ss[it]	m

(e) Fragments which cannot be assigned to any tablet.

	59	89	98	112	127	
1	.	u	[Proser]pina	.	a	
2	.	ta	.pos[sit]	p		
	134	141	145	147	158	162
1	.	pa	.	m	..	ae
2	as	d s		..		
3	..					
	165	166	168	171	189	194
1	a	.m	[po]ss[it]	a....	u	or
	198	200	211	213	214	
1	p	.a	po	ui	il	

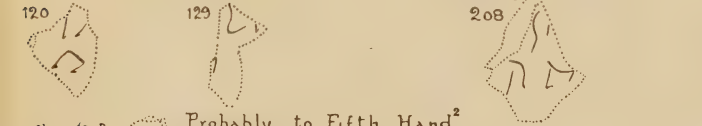
UNPLACED FRAGMENTS.

Probably belonging to First Hand<sup>1</sup>

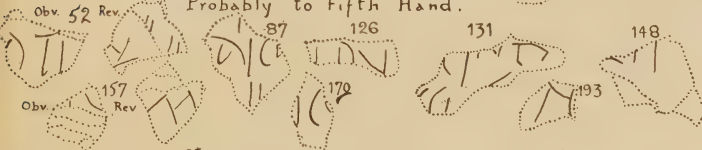


Probably to Plotius.

Probably to Avonia.



Probably to Fifth Hand<sup>2</sup>.



Unassignable to any hand<sup>3</sup>



Read *Aquillia* instead of *First Hand*.  
 Read *Secunda* instead of *Fifth Hand*.  
 Read *tablet* instead of *hand*.





## COMMENTARY ON PLOTIUS.

1. **Bona** .....**uxsor**. The manner of addressing the deity in a *defixio* was deemed of the utmost importance. Care was taken to specify beyond all doubt the exact deity invoked, so that the petition might not fail to reach its destination; and to use suitable language so as to avoid giving offence. Ordinarily the most familiar name of the deity was thought sufficient; but often the composers of the formulae in their desire to be more explicit were led to employ many exclusive and flattering epithets. As a rule, among both Greeks and Romans the invocation of Proserpina (Κόρη, Δέσποινα, Περσεφόνη, Περσιφόνη, Φρεσφόνη, Φερσεφόνη, Φρεσσεφόνη) was very simple (cf. Wünsch DTA 101; 102a. b; 103a; Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, frag. I, p. 291). But to her the Romans, preferring other deities, very seldom appealed. The formula *Dea Atacina Turibrig Proserpina per tuam maiestatem* (Aud. 122) and that of the Johns Hopkins tablets are unusually long. This conception of the power of Proserpina is quite Homeric, for Homer represents her as the consort of Hades who along with her husband puts into effect the curses of men upon the souls of the dead (cf. Il. IX 457. 569; Od. X 494; XI 226. 385-6. 634-5). In fact, our formula suggests Greek and Roman poetry rather than magic; e. g. *pulchra* (Verg. Aen. VI 142); *περικαλλής* (Hom. H. II 493); *casta* (Verg. Aen. VI 402; Sil. Ital. XIII 546); *maxima* (Ovid. Met. V 507); *ἀγνή* Od. XI 386); *coniunx Plutonia* (Prudent. con. Sym. I 367); *dominam Ditis* (Verg. Aen. VI 397); *νύμφη Ἀϊδου* (Eur. Alc. 746). *Bona* is found only in our tablets. Other deities commonly invoked are Pluto, Dis Pater, Mercurius, Terra Mater, Ceres, Hecate, the Praxidicae and Ge. In late times we actually find the God of the Jews regarded as an infernal deity and addressed as *Iaw* (Aud. 241, 23-27). Often, on the other hand, no deity at all was specifically addressed (cf. Wünsch DTA 67; 77).

**uxsor**. Cf. *exset* 43. The use of *xs* for simple *x* is no evidence of date. It is a phenomenon that appears in all classes of composition and ranges from the S. C. de Bacch. of 186 B. C. to the second century of the Empire. *Maxima* is read throughout Vesonia. This lack of uniformity is very common and may be observed even in such carefully prepared documents as the Monumentum Ancyranum; e. g., *sexsiens* (III 24); *exstinxeram* (VI 13).

2. **deicere**. So Avonia 2; elsewhere *dicere*. Similarly *seiue* 10-11. 38 (bis); *sei* 16; *seic* 40; *sueis* 5; *nei* 34; but *ni* 4. 26. 28. 30. 32. 37. 44. 46; and *dicere* 26. See the other four tablets. These forms are archaic (Lindsay, p. 243; Lomm., pp. 129 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 31; Georges s. vv.) and have therefore a very decided bearing on the date of our tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4.) For *seiue* see Aud. 196, 3=CIL X 1604; CIL I 197, 3; 200, 31; 203, 3. Simple *sei* appears much more commonly than *seiue*; see note on 16. *Deicere* and inflections are not rare; e. g., Plaut. Poen. 474; CIL I 1007; 198, 32; 205, col. 2, 28.

*seieue*.....oportet. Cf. 10-11. Similarly *seieue quo alio nomine uoltis adpellari* (Aud. 129b); *Dis Pater Veiuus Manes, siue quo alio nomine fas est nominare* (Macr. III 9, 10); and in the Magic Papyri, *επικαλονμαι σου τα ιερα και μεγαλα και κρυπτα ονοματα οis χαιρεis ακουων* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 85, 1609-1611); cf. ib. 870 ff. 979. 1345-1379. 1811-1812. In this manner of address the magus is groping, as it were, for the name that will bind the deity to perform his request to the last word; as ..... *δει σε ποιησαι τοντο δει σε μη φυγειν* ..... (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 102, 2299 ff.): cf. ib. 2324; Gruppe, pp. 883 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, p. 225; Wünsch, *Rhein. Mus.* LV, p. 81. In the sphere of religion a similar manner of address is employed, but its purpose is to propitiate, not to bind (cf. Frazer, l. c.; Hor. Sat. II 6, 20; id. *Carm. Saec.* 14-15; Aesch. *Agam.* 160 ff.; Shorey on Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 15; Milton, *Paradise Lost* III 7).

*seieue*. *Siue* or *seu* (= *uel si*) is rare and old-fashioned (cf. Reisig 256). See Persius I 67; Prop. IV 6, 81; Tib. I 6, 21. Like *siue* ... *siue*, *seu* ... *seu*, it generally follows the logical construction.

*me*. Here and in 10. 11. 12 we read the only reference to the person in whose interest the curse has been written. In *trado* 10. 41, *mando* 41, and in the frequently repeated formula *do tibi* 17-24 the reference is implied. But nowhere is the person mentioned by name for fear of magic vengeance and of the penalties imposed by law on those detected in resorting to *defixiones* against their fellows (cf. Aud., p. xlv ff.). Names are found as a rule only in amatory tablets (cf. ib., p. xlv, note 1).

*Saluiam*. An epithet of Proserpina hitherto unattested. There is one instance where *Saluia* is used in the religious sphere as here, viz., the *nauis Saluia* employed in the cult of the Magna Mater (CIL VI 494). In two other instances religious associations are implied: *aquae Salviae*, the name of the Roman fountain, and *Urbs Saluia* in Picenum whose patron divinity was *Salus* (CIL IX 5530 = 6078<sup>1</sup>). For the etymology of *Saluia* consult Schulze, p. 471. *Saluia* is apparently a translation of Σώτεια, a common Greek epithet of Proserpina; e. g., *ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας* (Paus. III 13, 2); *τὴν Κόρην δὲ Σώτειραν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες* (id. VIII 31, 1); *χόπως ἀρεῖς τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων* (Arist. *Frogs* 378-9). On coins of Cyzicus is read *Κόρη Σώτεια* (cf. Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II, pp. 265-266, Glasgow, 1901).

3. *eripias*. Not found elsewhere in the *defixiones* in this connection; cf., however, *auferas* (Aud. 250a 4; 288b 5; 289b 6. 16), and *apsumatis, desumatis, consumatis* (250a 23-24); also *αρον τον ψυχεν κε το στομα* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 7 IV); *αφες αυτου ψυχεν* (ib., p. 11 V).

*salutem*. Cf. *ualetudines* (Aud. 135a, 9); also 195, 3-7; [*inc*]olunitatem (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 291 I); *υγειαν* (Aud. 41, 19). With this list of defixed members and faculties compare the following from a formula in the Magic Papyri: ..... *διδους μοι των Δ (= δεινων) ζων υγιαν σωτηριαν πλεντον εντεκνιαν γνω[σ]ιν ευ[χρ]οιαν ευμενιαν ευβουλιαν ευδοξιαν μνημην χαριν μορφην καλλος* ..... (Wessely GZ, Mimaut, p. 147, 269 ff.).

*c[orpus]*. So Olivieri I. These are the only cases where the body is specified in the Latin tablets; but *σῶμα* appears often in the Greek., e. g. Aud. 41a 9 and b 16; Wünsch DTA 74, 3.

[co]lorem. Cf. Aud. 190, 5. *Corpus, colorem*—an alliteration found only here. *uires*. Cf. note on *eripias* 3.

*uirtutes*. Cf. 38. This is without parallel in other Latin tablets. The Greek, however, afford many similar expressions; e. g., ἀφέλεσθε αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν . . . . . (Aud. 22, 7); συνέχετέ μοι . . . . . τὴν ἰσχὺν . . . . . τὴν δύναμιν (38, 19–21). Contrast *uirtus* . . . *nec eripi, nec surripi potest unquam* (Cic. Parad. VI sub fin.). For the alliteration cf. *uirtutum uirium* (Q. Curt. IX 7, 29); *uirtutem uiresque* (Tac. Hist. III 13); also Apul. Met. IV 8; Plaut. Amph. 191.

The condemnation of the victim in this line is plainly general and anticipates the detailed specifications to follow. The writer is fearful of omitting some item that would cause the curse to fail in its all-embracing effects. *Salutem* refers in general to the condition of the victim, *corpus* to his entire material frame, *colorem* to his appearance, and *uires* and *uirtutes* together to his faculties.

The asyndeton will be noticed. Nowhere is *et* or *-que* found in our tablets. Asyndeton is an occasional characteristic of the curse-formulae in general, being much less frequent in the Greek than in the Latin. In the earlier tablets from Latium (Aud. 133–139) *et* is more rarely found than it is later. Asyndeton is archaic and is characteristic of religious formulae; magic follows religion (cf. Stolz-Schmalz, p. 685).

4. *Ploti*. From 19 we learn that this Plotius was the slave of Avonia, one of the victims involved in these tablets. The *gens* *Plautia* or *Plotia* was a well-known plebeian *gens* few of whose members ever attained to distinction. *O* for *au* was a feature of rustic Latin and of the vulgar Latin of the streets of Rome. That the demagogue Clodius changed his name to this form from Claudius is notorious. Under plebeian influence *Plautius* became *Plotius*. In *oriculas* 25 we have a change from *auriculas* due to the same general causes (Lindsay, pp. 40–41; Stolz-Schmalz, pp. 79–80). This manner of spelling is one among many indications that in these tablets we have to do with the lowest classes of the population. In Aud. 215, 10 appears the name *Plotius Hermes*.

The name of the victim (cf. note on 1) was regarded as the most important part of the formula, for among the ancients the name was looked on as the person himself. To make the curse fully effective the name had to be written with the utmost clearness; but cf. Wünsch DTA 55, 77, 88, 95, and praef. iv. Sometimes the name was itself defixed, as ἀνάδοτε αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα (Aud. 22, 40); cf. 24, 23; 26, 28; 37, 26; Wünsch DTA 57, 20; id. Bonn. Jahrb. 119, no. 25, pp. 1–12. To prevent the goddess mistaking another Plotius for the intended victim his social status is mentioned in 19—*Ploti Avoniae*. In ancient medicine the patient's name was occasionally regarded as a valuable adjunct in effecting a cure; e. g., *de sanguine ipso qui fluit nomen eius in fronte scribe, cui medendum est* (Marc. X 33); cf. XIV 68.

Usually the dative is used with *eripere*; the gen. is emphatic, as *non pecuniam modo, uerum etiam hominis propinqui sanguinem uitamque eripere conatur* (Cic. Pro Quin. 11). Cf. Plotius 13 where the order is even more emphatic.

*Tradas* [Plutoni]. There are many different *formulae deuotoriae* employed and these vary according to whether a deity is asked to consign a victim to

the lower regions or whether the author of the curse does so directly without such an appeal. *Trado* is used, as it happens, in both cases; e. g., *trade Plutoni* (Aud. 140, 7) with an appeal to the god, and *trado* (Plotius 2) where the curser performs the action himself. In the former class are *obligare* (Aud. 247; 251; 253; 268); *deligare* (217b 6); *alligare* (217b 6; 277; 279); and many others. In Greek are *δεῖν*, *καταδεῖν*, *παραδιδόναι*. For complete lists cf. Aud. ind., pp. 474 ff., and Wünsch DTA ind., pp. 48-49.

4-5. *Ni*....*sueis*. *Ni* and *nei* are byforms of *ne* (cf. under *nei* 34). *Ni possit* followed by an infinitive occurs very frequently in our tablets (26. 28. 30. 32. 33. 34. 37. 44) in a great variety of connections. *Ne*, *non*, and *ut non* are common in other Latin *tabellae* (cf. Aud. ind., p. 480). Thus we read *ne uiribus suis....possint* (Aud. 251, 14-15). The Greek equivalent constantly recurring is *μή* or *ἵνα μή* with a subjunctive of *δύναμαι* in a final clause, as in Aud. 234, 19. 45. 60-61; 38, 23-24. The imperative of the second person with *μή*, the nearest equivalent of the Latin subjunctive with *ne*, appears but rarely; as *μή δυνάσθωσαν* (249a 12-13).

*cogitationibus*. Not "thoughts" but "devices". For this manner of completing a word at the end of a line see facsimiles of Plotius 13 and Vesonina 29, and cf. Aud. 190, 9. 11.

5. *sueis*. For spelling see note on 2 and Ch. III, § 4. Cf. *nateis sueis* (CIL VI 15676); *noteis sueis* (X 3757); *infereis* (Aud. 199, 6).

*hoc uita[re]*. That the victim may not escape the doom prepared is the wish implied in every curse-formula; here only, apparently, is it explicitly expressed. *Hoc* summarizes; cf. *hoc opto: moriari malis exemplis cruciatus et ipse nec te nunc liceat quo me priuasti lumen uidere et tu des poenas....* (Not. degli Scavi, 1900, p. 578, no. 35).

*illunc*. To read *el(c)illunc* as in 43 would overcrowd the space. See Neue II 429. *Illunc* belongs exclusively to the vulgar sphere and among the authors is confined with rare exceptions to Plautus and Terence; e. g., Plaut. Curcul. 590; Trin. 520; Persa 738; Merc. 272. Belonging as it undoubtedly does to the sphere of conversation it is but rarely found in inscriptions: *illunc* (CIL IV 1691); *illuc* = *illud* (2013).

6. *Febri*....*cottidia[n]ae*. Of *tertianae* only the initial letter and the last three letters are legible; the presence of *quartanae* and *cottidianae* makes it easy to complete the word. Of *cottidianae* the second *t* is but faintly written.

To consign an enemy to the various manifestations of malaria was common to Greek and Roman alike; e. g., *patiatur febris frigus tortionis palloris sudores obripilationis meridianas interdianas serutinas nocturnas* (Aud. 140, 8-11 = Wünsch Seth. I); *tercianas quartana* (Olivieri IV); ....*καὶ φρίκη καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καθημερινῶ πυρετῶ* (Aud. 74, 6; 75, 10-12); cf. 51, 1-2. In no other Latin tablet is *febris cottidiana* mentioned; cf., however, Ter. Hec. 357. For the prevalence of malaria in ancient Greece see Jones, W. H. S., *Malaria and Greek History*, pp. 41, 63; and in ancient Italy see Jones, Ross and Elliot, *Malaria*, chapter entitled "*In Ancient Italy*". Of the ancient medical authorities on the disease see Hipp. Epid. I 24-25 (pp. 200, 201 Kühlewein); Celsus III 3, 13, 14, 15; and cf. Plato, Tim. 86A. For the periodic fevers as demons see Hymns of the Atharva-Veda (Bloomfield), p. 1 (V 22); p. 3



(I 25); p. 4 (VII 116); Cic. De N. D. III 25 and De Leg. II 11; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 82.

*cottidia[n]ae*. Correctly spelled: Burger under *cottidie* in Thes. Ling. Lat., and Buecheler, Carm. Epig. 231, 3, note.

7. *quas*. The acc. for the nom.; cf.  $\delta\nu = \delta\varsigma$  (Aud. 159a 53); *inter quibus = inter quos* (106, 6).

[*illo*]. After *illunc* 5 one would expect *illoc* and similarly *illac* in Avonia 8 and Vesonia 8 where we actually find *illa*. By analogy we therefore read *illo* in this line.

[*luct[ent]*]. This word is restored by a comparison of all the tablets. The active *lucto* is found almost entirely among the old writers, according to Priscian VIII 5, 25, p. 797. *Luctant* is read in Non., p. 472 from Ennius IX 339; *luctauimus* and *luctat* in ib., p. 468 from Plaut. Vid. Frag. IX and Ter. Hec. 829; *deluctauit* (or, according to isolated MSS., *deluctauit*) from Plaut. Trin. 839; *luctare* in Varro, De Ling. Lat. V 10, 61. Only three instances appear later than the Republic and these are all compounds with *re-*; *reluctabat* (Apul. Met. IV 20, p. 281); *reluctabant* (ib. VII 5, p. 455); a passive *reluctatis rebus* (Claudian, De Raptu Pros. I 42). It will be observed that these post-Republican examples belong to an author or to a department where one is not surprised to find archaic diction. *Luctent* would seem to be an evidence of the date of the tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4).

[*deluctent*]. At this point occurs the only extensive lacuna common to all the tablets; hence, conjecture is the only means available for the restoration of the original text. On the analogy of the grouping of cognates or synonyms (as in 6. 8. 41. 42. 43-44. 45-46; Aud. 250a and b; also 16 x 4. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13) *deluctent* would be very apt in this connection. For the use of *delucto* see the previous note. *Deluctent* resembles the English "to fight it out". It would have been hard for the author of the tablets to choose other verbs that would as vividly describe the shivers and delirium of malarial fever as do *luctent* and *deluctent*; cf. Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, pp. 16, 17.

[*illunc*]. As *cum illo* could not accompany *euincant uincant*, the direct object must be assumed. The omission of *et* is in harmony with the prevailing asyndeton. Further, the number of letters in the conjectured words would give the entire line an average length.

8. *usq[ue] dum*. See Vesonia 9. Cf. *usque dum per me tibi licuerit* (Cic. in Verr. III 5); Plaut. Men. 728.

[*animam*]. See Vesonia 9. Cf. *pertransseas hanimam et ispiritum* (Aud. 250a 17-18); also b 13 and Olivieri III. In the Greek tablets  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  is frequently used in such a connection and occasionally along with it are other words connoting the immaterial part of man, as  $\piνε\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$   $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$   $\phi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\nu$   $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\nu$   $\zeta\omega\eta\nu$  (Aud. 41, 9-10). The expression *demandando ut facias illum mortuum* (300b 3-6) embodies the same sentiment in other words.

9. *uictimam*. Usually the word refers to an animal as in 14 and Ovid, Am. III 13, 16 (cf. Wissowa, p. 347), but here it refers to a human being. Similarly *hostia* in Aud. 138, where a woman is the victim. Cf. *uictima* in 243, 28. Both words are rare in *defixiones*.

11. [*Ach*] *eruosi* *am*. *Ach-* rather than *ac-*: cf. *pulchra* 1 and *bracchia* 28. The syllable is not preserved in any of the tablets. The *-uo-* seems to be an

inadvertent metathesis of the vowels of the diphthong in Ἀχερούσιος. For the insertion of *-iam* cf. Aud. 49, 3. 4. 18; 50, 5. 8; and note on *cogitationibus* (Plotius 4).

Just as *Saluiam* 2 anticipates *eripias salutem* 3, so *Acheruosiam* anticipates the summons of Cerberus 12-13. This is a new epithet of Proserpina; cf. *Stygia* (Stat. Theb. IV 526-527); *inferna* (Virg. Aen. VI 138 and CIL X 7576); ἡ νεκρέρα θεός (Soph. Oed. Col. 1548). Cerberus generally appears as the watchdog of the house of Pluto and Proserpina, as in Apul. Met. VI 19; Virg. Aen. VI 400; Hes. Theog. 767 ff. Sometimes he is definitely located in the region of Acheron, as in Stat. Theb. VIII 513 ff.; Ovid, Met. VII 409 ff.; Sil. Ital. III 35; Pomp. Mela I 19, 7; and Acheron often stands for the entire realm of Hades as *pars pro toto*; e. g., Plaut. Most. 499. 509; Poen. 344. See Preller, Gr. Myth. I, p. 817. Acheron is mentioned only once elsewhere in the *defixiones* (Aud. 250a 11); but several times in the Magic Papyri, as ἀχερουσία τε λίμνη αἶδον ἐκατή και πλουτεν και κουρα (Wessely GZ; Bibl. Nat., p. 81, 1461-62); cf. ib. 1444. 1464.

12. m[e] = mihi. See Avonia 13. *Me pro mihi dicebant antiqui* (Festus, p. 156); cf. *templa tescaque me ita sunt* (Varro, De Ling. Lat. VII 2, 8); also id. De R. R. III 16, 2; *occiperes tute <eam> amare et me ires consultum male* (Plaut. Bacch. 565); also ib. 684; *si quid me fuerit humanitus* (Ennius, Ann. 125 V.) with which cf. *si quid mihi humanitus accidisset* (Cic. Phil. I 4, 10). See Stolz-Schmalz, p. 216; Neue II, p. 352; Lindsay, p. 422; Reichardt, N. Jahrb. für cl. Phil., 139, 1889, 110 ff.

[mittas]. See Avonia 13 and Vesonias 13. No trace of a letter is found after *-a-* in any of the tablets, yet it is natural to suppose that the verb we require here is coordinate with *eripias* 3; the only possible alternative is to assume *mittam*, but this of course would not suit the context.

12-13. *canem tricipitem*. Cerberus is often referred to without explicit mention of his name: e. g., *formaque trifauci personat insomnis lacrimosae ianitor aulae* (Sil. Ital. II 551); *tricipitem eduxit, Hydra generatum, canem* (Cic. Tusc. Disp. II 9). Other descriptive compounds of a similar character occur: *tergeminus* (Prop. IV 7, 52; Ovid, Tr. IV 7, 16); *triformis* (Stat. Theb. II 53-54). Among the Latin *tabellae defixionum* there is discovered no other reference of any sort to Cerberus; but in the Greek (Aud. 74a 5; 75a 9-10) the epithet φύλαξ is applied to him twice. That Cerberus does not figure more frequently in the *tabellae* is strange, in view of his importance in magical operations in general, as in the Magic Papyri: ἐξορκίζω σε κερβερὲ κατὰ τῶν απαγχαμένων και τῶν νεκρῶν και τῶν βιαίως τεθνηκοτῶν. . . . ἐξορκίζω σε κερβερὲ κατὰ ἱερας κεφαλῆς τῶν καταχθονίων ἧν. . . (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 92, 1911 ff.); cf. also ib. 2261-62; 2293-94; and Roscher, Lex. under Kerberos, p. 1134.

13. *tricipitem* = *tricipitem*. By the third century A. D. *ī* became *ē* in vulgar Latin throughout the Empire; occasional instances of the phenomenon of earlier date are found; cf. *conieciant* (CIL I 198, 50); *accepiant* (V 6731, 21); *arceptorem* (in Greek script) = *accipitrem* (Aud. 270, 3). Consult Pirson, pp. 8-10; Carnoy, pp. 20-21; Schuchardt, Vok. II, pp. 27-28.

[Ploti]. Conjectured on the analogy of [Avoniae]s in Avonia 14. In this and the corresponding passages in the other tablets one would expect either

*eius* or the name of the victim in the genitive. The varying length of the lacunae corresponds with the varying length of the respective names.

cor. Cf. 29. Cerberus was regarded as a devourer of human flesh; cf. *qui viscera saevo spargis nostra (=humana) cani* (Lucan, Phars. VI 702-703); *ὠμωστήν* (Hesiod, Theog. 311); *ἐσθίει ὃν κε λάβησι πυλῶν ἐκτοσθεν ἴοντα* (ib. 772); also Philochorus, Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr., Vol. I, p. 392, frag. 46.

polliciarus=pollicearis. Similarly (*h*)*abias* (Aud. 228a 6; b 6); (*h*)*abiat* (270, 8-9); *ualiat* (223a 16); *pariat* (CIL I 197, 10). Probably by the first century A. D., and sporadically earlier, *e*, *i* and *u* in hiatus with following vowels became consonantal in vulgar Latin and therefore lost their distinctive sounds; cf. Carnoy, pp. 39-40; Caper VII 106, 103 K; Sommer, Handb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenlehre, pp. 144-145.

There are other instances, though rare, of final unaccented *-is* becoming *-us*: e. g., *ularus* (CIL I 1267=IX 604); *spatiarius* (I 1220=IX 1837); *figarus* (IV 2082); *Caesarus* (I 685); *Caesaru* (696). Cf. Quint. I 7; Carnoy, pp. 47, 48-50; Schuchardt, Vok. II 91 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 199.

For the manner of completing the word cf. the note on *cogitationibus* 4.

14. t[r]es uictimas. Here *uictimas* refers to other than human beings (see note on *uictimam* 9). Doubtless the three offerings enumerated are to be given one to each mouth of the hell-hound, thus leaving no part of him unpropitiated. Apart from the special reason for the three offerings in this case the numerical trinity is a prominent feature of charm-formulae and incantations; cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, I 3; IV 1.

15. palma[s]. See Avonia 16. According to the Magic Papyri dates and figs were sometimes used as offerings to accompany incantations, as *ὄντα φοινικων νικολων γ̃ καρακαί ισχαδες γ̃* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 125, 3201-3202); *ισχαδε γ̃ φοινικός οστα γ̃ νικολαου* (id. NGZ, Pap. CXXI, p. 41, 629); cf. id. GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 90, 1835-36, p. 109, 2585. Dates are not recorded elsewhere as offerings to Proserpina and Demeter; and none of the three as offerings to Cerberus. Dates were often used in connection with magic rites in ancient Babylonia and Assyria; see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. xlv, 26, 141, 157, 187, 192. For a similar use among the Hebrews and Arabs cf. ib., pp. 107, 144. For the association of figs and dates cf. *hic nux, hic mixta est rugosis carica palmis* (Ovid, Met. VIII 674); *quid uolt palma sibi rugosaque carica* (id. Fasti I 185).

[ca]rica[s]. See Avonia 16. *Carica*=*figus Carica*. Cf. previous note. Fruit-offerings were characteristic of the Demeter-Proserpina worship (Stengel, Gr. Kult., p. 91; id. Opf., p. 167; Paus. IX 19, 4; VIII 37, 4; 42, 5). The fig was the special fruit of the chthonic cults in general (Gruppe, p. 790). A wild fig marked the place where Pluto went down with Proserpina (Paus. I 38; cf. ib. 37, 2).

por[c]um nigrum. For *uictima* applied to a pig, as here, see Ovid, Am. III 13, 16. The swine was characteristic of the chthonic worship in general and of that of Demeter-Proserpina in particular (cf. Gruppe, p. 1178, note 2; p. 38; Ovid, Fasti I 349. 466; Serv. ad Aen. III 118; Macr. Sat. III 11, 10; Varro, De R. R. IV 9; Hyg. Fab. CCLXVII). "The swine turns up the ground in his search for food....and primitive man saw in his action an attempt to communicate with the spirits of the lower world" (Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 358). Although not always given,

black victims were preferred by the chthonic divinities (Stengel, Opf., p. 188; Dittenberger, Syll. 615, 25; CIL XI 1420; III 9, 11; Val. Max. II 4, 5; Ephemeris Epig. 1891, 134, 11; Wissowa, pp. 347-348). Black victims or parts of such are generally specified in the Magic Papyri, as *κυν μελαινα* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 80, 1434); *εγκεφαλος κριον μελανος* (ib. p. 77, 1314); cf. as p. 78, 1331 ff. and p. 81, 1439 ff. Similarly in the same spheres male victims were preferred (Stengel, Opf., p. 192; Dittenberger, Syll. 615, 17): as (II) *ερσεφόνα χοῖρον ἄρσενα* (Ziehen, Leg. Sacr. 51); *χρῖσον αὐτο το ἐλλυχνιον λιπεί κριον μελανος αρρενος πρωτοτοκου και πρωτοτροφου* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 71, 1091 ff.); cf. ib. 64-65; Krause, *De Hostiis*, pp. 5, 41.

It will have been observed that the three offerings mentioned in our tablets are of the kind usually given to Demeter and Proserpina. For the food of Cerberus see note on 13; occasionally he was placated with a honey-cake, as in Virg. Aen. VI 417 ff.; Apul. Met. VI 19 *passim*; cf. Gruppe, p. 407, notes 4 and 5.

16. *hoc sei pe[rfe]cerit*. Sc. *Cerberus*. A similar promise of a sacrifice in the event of the petition being granted by the divinity is found in Wünsch DTA 109, 6-7: *Μανοῦς κακῶς πράξαντος εὐαγγέλια θύσω*; cf. also id. Bonn. Jahrb. 119, no. 26.

For the spelling of *sei*, see note on 2. It is read also in CIL I 33; 196, 28; 571; 603; IV 64; 1196; 2430; 4971; 4972; Plaut. Men. 239. 241; and elsewhere. It is not found in any other Latin *tabella*.

16-17. [*ante mensem*] *M[artium]*. See Avonia 17; Vesonía 17. Time limits for the inception and consummation of the curse are often imposed, as *ni possit amplius ullum mensem aspicere* (44-45); *pridie idus ianuarias siue idus* (Aud. 248b 5-7); *ianouariás* (252, 44). Far commoner are references to moments, hours, days, nights, weeks, years, as *ab hac ora*, *ab hoc die*, *ab hac nocte* (Wünsch, Seth. I, 11); *εξ ακ διη οκ μομεντο* (Aud. 231, 24); *intra annum itusm = istum* (129b 12-13); *perducas ad domus Tartareas . . . intra dies septe(m)* (250a 13-14); *εις ἐναντιόν* (189b 7) *σήμερον* (174, 23). In one formula the effect of the curse is expected to be valid for all time, as *δητινεατοῦρ ιν ομνε τεμπους* (231, 11-12).

17-18. [*haec*] . . . *.fe[cer]is*. See Avonia 17-18. Cf. note on *hoc . . . perfecerit* 16. So in the Magic Papyri: *τελεσον δαιμον τα ενθαδε γεγραμμενα ε . . . τελεσαντι δε σοι θυσιαν αποδωσω βραδυναντι δε σοι κολασεις επενεγκω ας ου δυνασαι επενεγκειν . . .* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 97, 2095 ff.); cf. ib. 384. 2107-2109. A Roman prayer was frequently a cautious *quid pro quo*, as *Bellona, si hodie nobis uictoriam duis, ast ego tibi templum uoueo* (Livy X 19, 17); cf. id. I 12, 4; XXII 10, 2 ff.; CIL III 1933; Laing, Classical Philology, VI 2, pp. 180ff. The vow of Jephthah is a parallel instance (Judges XI 30-31).

17. [*P*]*r[oserpina Saluia]*. *Saluia* only can be read in Avonia 18 and Vesonía 18, but a very distinct *r* together with the demands made by the length of the line compel us to read here *Proserpina* as well as *Saluia*.

18. *compote(m)*. The weak pronunciation of *m* in Latin is well-known (cf. Lindsay, pp. 60-62; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 156). In the *tabellae*, final *-m* is often dropped before vowels and consonants alike, as *colore(m) ficura(m) caput* (Aud. 190, 5); *fronte(m) supercili* (135a 6); *Sergia(m) Glycinna(m)* (139, 18); *uita(m)*



*ualetudin(em)* (195, 3); cf. Aud. Ind. 539 ff. In Avonia 18 we read *compotem feceris*, but in Vesonía 17 *menſe Martium*.

*compotem* = *me compotem uoti* as in *insequere, et uoti postmodo compos eris!* (Ovid, *Ars Am.* I 486); *nunc me uoti compotem facis* (Sen. Hipp. 718).

*do tibi.* *Do* appears only here in the *tabellae*.

*cap[ut]*. See Avonia 19. Also in Aud. 134a 7; 135a 3; 190, 6. Cf. *τρίχας κεφαλῇν ἐνκέφαλον πρόσωπον* (41a 16-17); *τὴν κεφαλῇν* (Wünsch DTA 89a 3). In all other than the Johns Hopkins tablets the natural order of enumeration of the parts is followed very imperfectly.

19. *Ploti Auon[iae]*. Sc. *serui*. It is quite possible that the original was *Auoniaes* as in Avonia 14. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. *Seruus* in such instances might be written in full or in abbreviated form, or it might be omitted altogether. In the *uasa Arretina* (CIL XI 6700-6701) the usage varies, but in the *tesserae consulares* (I 717-776b) *seruus* is regularly omitted. Cf. Marquardt-Mau I, pp. 20-21 and p. 21, note 1.

20. *fron[tem]*. See Avonia 20; Vesonía 20. So *collus os bucas dentes labias mentus oculos fronte supercili* (Aud. 135a 6); cf. b 4; *cerebru frute supe[rcil]ia os nasu metu bucas* (190, 7). The nearest approach to this in Greek is *πρόσωπον* (Wünsch DTA 171, 3; 41a 16-17).

21. *su[percilia]*. See Avonia 21 and the previous note; *ὀφρῦς* (Aud. 41, 17 and Wünsch DTA 89a 10).

22-23. [*palpebras*], [*pupillas*]. See Avonia 22. 23; Vesonía 23. 24. Nowhere else than in these tablets, apparently, are these parts of the eye enumerated. The eye as a whole, however, is frequently mentioned; e. g., among the Latin tablets—134a 8; 135a 1. 6; b 2; Olivieri I; further, see previous note; among the Greek tablets—*ὀφθαλμούς* (Aud. 49, 14. 16); *τὰ ὀμματα* (241, 13-14; 242, 57-58). Cf. *ni possit. . . . aspicere, uidere, contemplare* (Plotius 44-45).

24-26. [*nare*]s. . . . *dentes*. The order of the parts differs from this in Avonia 24-25, Vesonía 25-26, *Secunda* 21-22; the order in *Aquillia* is conjectural. The summary grouping of these the remaining parts of the head is plainly for the sake of brevity. In Aud. 135a and b all the parts of the body are grouped in the one appeal with little regard for order.

24. *nares*. Found only here in the Latin tablets; but *μυκτηρες* (Aud. 41a 17); and in the Magic Papyri *ανασπασον αὐτης το πνευμα κυρια των μυκτηρων της Δ* (= *δείνος*) (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 107, 2498-99).

25. *labra*. See note on *frontem* 20 and cf. Aud. 190, 8 and *labras* in Vesonía 25.

or[iculas]. See Avonia 24; Vesonía 25. The sense of hearing is referred to but rarely in the *tabellae* and then by the verb rather than by the noun. Cf. *nec frenis audire possint* (Aud. 275, 29-30); *nec frenis audiant* (280, 15; 281, 15; 282a 25); also *ἀκοάς* (41, 17).

For spelling of *oriculas* = *auriculas* see note on *Ploti* 4. Vesonía 25 gives the syncopated form *oriclas*. *Auricula* is a popular diminutive of *auris*. Cf. *Orata genus piscis appellatur a colore auri, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas, oriculas* (Festus, p. 182, 13-15, under *orata*).

[*nasu*]m. For example see note on *frontem* 20; and cf. *caput olans* = *olfactus* (Aud. 134a 7). The nose and nostrils are mentioned together in no other tablets than these.



**lin[g]uam.** The tongue is very frequently defixed, as *licua* (Aud. 134b 2); *alligo deligo linguas* (217a 4); *adligate linguas* (218, 6-7); *inimicorum meorum linguas aduersus me obtumescant* (222b 3-5); *ligo oligo (obligo) linguas illoro medias extremas nouissimas ne quit possint respondere contra* (219a 2-8); *καταγράφω* ..... *γλωτταν* (47, 7-9); *καταδῶ* ..... *γλωτταγ καὶ ψυχῆν* (49, 2. 4. 5. 7. 9. 11. 12. 15); *δῆσαι Διονυσίας γλώσσαν* (81a 3-4); *καταδῶ τὴν γλωτταν* (Wünsch DTA 49; 50); *εἰ τι μέλλει ὑπὲρ Φίλωνος φθέγγεσθαι ῥῆμα πονηρόν, ἢ γλώσσ' αὐτοῦ μβλυβδος γένοιτο. καὶ κέντησον αὐτοῦ τὴν γλώσσαν* ... (96, 8-16). In various other ways also is the faculty of speech defixed, as *os bucas dentes labias* (Aud. 135a 5); *crus os pedes* (b 4); *os nasu metu bucas labra uerbu* (190, 7-8); *ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ στόμα* (49, 16); ..... *φιμώσατον δὲ τὰ στόματα πάντων* (15, 24); *παραλάβετε τὰς φωνὰς* ... (22, 37; 24, 21; 25, 6-7); *παραλάβετε* ..... *τοὺς λόγους* (32, 24-25); *καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος* (52, 5-6); *ἀτελὴς εἴη αὐτῇ καὶ ὅτι ἂμ πρὸς Καλλίαν διαλέγειν μέλλῃ καὶ Χαρίαν ὅτι ἂν διαλέγειν μέλλῃ καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἐπη* ..... (68a 3-7). Cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 172, note 2.

26. *dentes.* So *os bucas dentes labias* (Aud. 135a 5); *manus detes oculos bracia* (b 1-2); *ὀδόντας* (41, 18) occurs once only in the Greek tablets.

26-27. *ni dicere* ..... [dole]at. See Avonia 25-26; Vesonias 27-28. Final, not optative, expressing the purpose in defixing the utterance of Plotius in 24-26. Similarly in Aud. 219a 2-8 (quoted in previous note); *κατακοιμίσατε τὴν γλώσσαν τὸν θυμὸν τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἔχει τὸν Ἀρτεμίδωρον ὃ Ἀφροdisίανος, εἶνα μὴ δύνητέ μοι μηδὲν πράγματι ἐναντιωθῆνε* (28, 19 ff.). For construction of *quid sibi doleat* see *scio ego quid doleat mihi* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 1325). I find no other example of the indirect question in the *defixiones*.

27-28. *collum* ..... d[i]git[os]. See Vesonias 28-29. Objects of *ab tibi* 24. In this group are defixed the members on which a man most depends for self-assistance; hence the purpose of *ni possit aliquit se adiutare* 28-29.

*collum.* Cf. *collus* (Aud. 135a 5); *colu* (190, 9); *καταδῆσατε αὐτοῦ τῶν τράχηλων τὰς χῖρας τοὺς πόδας* (15, 19).

*umeros.* Cf. *colu iocur umeros cor* (Aud. 190, 9); *scaplas umerum neruias* (135a 7); (*καταγραφω*) ..... *ὤμους βραχίονας στῆθος στόμαχον* (74, 13-14).

*bracchia.* In no other tablet is the word spelled thus; cf., however, *manus dicitos bracias uncis* (Aud. 135a 2); *manus detes oculos bracia uenter* (b 1-2); 190, 10; *βραχίονες* (74, 13; see previous note). *Manus* is strangely omitted from the list in our tablets, though it is found elsewhere, as above and in 247, 9. *χεῖρες* (or *χεῖρας*) frequently occurs in Greek tablets; e. g., 234, 57; 240, 40; 47, 2. 4. 6. 8; 64, 8. 10. For the bearing of the aspirate *ch* in *bracchia* on the date of the tablets see Ch. III, § 4.

d[i]git[os]. Cf. *bracia digitos manus* (Aud. 190, 10-11); 135a 2. For *digiti* (*pedum*) see Plotius 37.

*aliquit.* So *quit* 30. According to the inscriptions *t* for *d* was very common in all parts of the Roman world and at all periods. It belongs to the vulgar sphere. Cf. *quit* (Aud. 219a 6; 303 I 3; II 4. 6; IV 1. 2; VI 2; CIL V 3415); *aliquit* (IX 5860; XII 915).

28-29. [*ni po*]ssit aliquit se adiutare. See Avonia 27-28; Vesonias 29-30. Exact parallels are not to be found; but cf. *εἶνα ἀδυνάμονος ἀβοηθήτους ποιήσητε* (Aud. 161, 28-31 = Wünsch Seth. 22; Aud. 159a 44-45; b 27-29; 160,

15-16. 38-39. 88-89); ἀδυνάτους αὐτοὺς πόει (Wünsch DTA 98, 5); Aud. 164, 23; 165, 22-23; 166, 12. 32. The Latin *defixiones* offer no parallel.

29-30. [pe]c[tus]....pulmones. Objects of *do tibi* 24. Here are defixed the organs which were regarded as the seat of the senses; hence the force of *ni possit sentire quit sibi doleat* 30-31.

[pe]c[tus]. Although only -c- is visible here yet there is no doubt about the reading in view of Avonia 28 and Secunda 25. Cf. *natis umlicus pectus mamilas* (Aud. 135a 4); *uenter mamila pectus osu* (b 2-3); *pectoris....cor...* (142b 9); βραχίονας στήθος στόμαχον (74, 13-14); μασθοὺς....στήθος (75b 1-2). Similarly in the Magic Papyri: ἐμμεῖνον αὐτῆς δια τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδία καὶ κανσον αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ στήθος τοῦ ἥπαρ τοῦ πνεῦμα τὰ ὅσα τοῦς μυελούς (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 83, 1527-1530). For *pectus* as the seat of the perceptions cf. *oculis pectoris aliquid haurire* (Ovid, Met. XV 63); also Quint. X 7, 15.

[io]c[iner]a. The first syllable is lacking in all our tablets and must be supplied by conjecture. The only example in the *defixiones* is *iocur* (Aud. 190, 9), and in this sphere *iocinera* rather than *iecinora* is almost certainly required. For the great variety of orthography and inflection of this word see Neue I, pp. 837-839. In the Greek *defixiones* ἥπαρ occurs, as in Aud. 42b 3; 156, 42; 252, 8-9; 253, 15. For *iocur* (or *iecur*) as the seat of the affections and passions cf. *non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerue* (Hor. Epist. I 18, 72); also id. Carm. I 13, 4; Juv. I 45.

cor. See note on *cor* 13. Cf. *iocur umeros cor fulmones itestinas uetre* (Aud. 190, 9-10); 250a 24; 270, 11. 19; αἰσθησιν ζοῆν καρδίαν (41, 10-11); 42b 3; 51, 3; Wünsch DTA 89b 7; 93a 4; b 3. For *cor* as the seat of the understanding see *quicquam sapere corde* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 336); Cic. Phil. III 6, 16.

pulmones. So *fulmones*=*pulmones* (see previous note); πνεύμονας καρδίαν ἥπαρ (Aud. 42b 3); σῶμα πνεῦμα ψυχὴν διάνοιαν φρόνησιν (41a 9); 78, 5.

30-31. n[i possit] ...doleat. For *sentire* the original reads *sentique*; cf. Avonia 29-30; Vesonica 31-32. For construction of *quit sibi doleat* see note on 26-27. Here *quit*, but *quid* 27; see also under *aliquit* 28. The same word even in the same composition is spelt sometimes with *l*, sometimes with *t*; e. g., *apud* (Aud. 139, 4), but *aput* (9).

31-32. [intes]tina ....latera. Objects of *do tibi* 24. The parts here defixed represent the front and sides of the body, and *scapulas* 32 the back. One sleeps on sides, front, or back; hence the pertinency of *ni possit dormire* 32; and of *ni possit sanus dormire* 33 (on which see note).

[intes]tina. See Avonia 30; Vesonica 32. Cf. *cor fulmones itestinas uetre* (Aud. 190, 10); *uiscera interania* (250a 24); ἔντερα (75b 2); ὑπογάστριον (74, 14-15).

uenter. Here we should expect *uentrem* as in Aud. 190, 10, where we read *uetre*. But the use of the word as a neuter is not unparalleled; e. g., Aud. 135a 3. 8; b 2. 3. 5. There is no other authority for the neuter than this very limited vulgar usage. In Greek we find κοιλίαν (42b 4); στόμαχον (74, 14); τὴν γαστέρα (Wünsch DTA 89a 4). From the point of view of anatomy *uenter* was as loosely used as is our English word "belly". Cf. note on *intestina*.

um[b]licu[s]. The reading of the final *s* in Secunda 27 establishes the original text without a doubt. As in the case of *uenter* a limited vulgar usage

is the sole authority for its use as a neuter; e. g., *umlicus* (Aud. 135a 4); b 6; cf. *ublicu* (190, 11). By the ancients the navel was regarded as the middle point of the body; e. g., *corporis centrum medium naturaliter est umbilicus* (Vitruvius III 1, 3); cf., however, Varro, De Ling. Lat. VII 17. See Gruppe, pp. 723 ff.

*latera*. So *latus* (Aud. 134b 6); *laius* = *latus* (b 1). The plural is not found elsewhere in the *tabellae*. Nowhere in the Greek tablets do we read the Greek equivalent.

32. [n]i p[oss]it dormire. Cf. *ni possit sanus dormire* 33. Similarly *von ποσσιτ δορμειρε* (Aud. 267, 19-20); *ονθι . . . . . von δορμιαθ* (bis) (270, 4-7); *auferas somnum, non dormiat Maurussus* (250a 4-5); cf. 265a 8-9; 266, 7; *ὑπνος δ' ἀπέστω γλυκὺς ὁμμάτων* (Arist. Clouds, 705-706). The sentiment is not expressed anywhere in the Greek tablets; it is to be read, however, in the Greek Magic Papyri: *εξεγειρατε την Δ (δεῖνα) εν τη νυκτι ταυτη και αφελεσθαι αυτης τον ηδον υπνον απο τω— βλεφαρων και δοτε αυτη στυγεραν μεριμναν φοβεραν λυπην κ. τ. λ.* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 80, 1424 ff.); cf. 2487 ff. and 2735 ff; *ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἡ Δ δι' ὅλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἕως θάνῃ* (Dieterich XII 12.)

*scapulas*. Cf. *scapulae* in Vesonica 33; elsewhere in the *tabellae* only in Aud. 135a 7 where the syncopated form *scaplas* is read. Cf. *στόμαχον νῶτον ὑπογάστριον* (74, 14-15). *Scapulae* was sometimes used for *tergum* as *pars pro toto*; e. g., *scapulas praebere uerberibus* (Sen. De Ira III 12); cf. also Plaut. Cas. 955-956; id. Truc. 793; Ter. Phor. 76.

33. *ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire*. In *sanus* there is a space between *s* and *n* for one letter only which must be *a* in this connection. "So that he may not sleep a healthy sleep". This doubtless refers to the delirium of the fevers (cf. Celsus III 3. 13. 14. 15).

33-34. *uiscum sacrum*. Object of *do tibi* 24. The connection with *nei possit urinam facere* is obvious. Usually *uiscus*, *uisceris*, and not *uiscus* (or *uiscum*), *uisci*; the word is most commonly used in the plural. *Viscus* = *uterus* in Nemes. Cyn. 124, 132; Quint. X 3, 4; Ulp. Dig. XLVIII 8, 8; = *testes* Petr. CXIX 20; Plin. N. H. XX 13, 51, §142. Referring to the epithet *ιερόν* in *ιερόν ὁστέον* (cf. *os sacrum*) the Thes. Ling. Lat. offers this among other suggestions as to its origin: "quod in ea aliquid sacri arcanique insit". In *uiscera interania* (Aud. 250a 24) the word is used in a general sense only; in the department of *defixiones* it appears only in this passage and in our tablets. Cf. *cunus* (Aud. 135b 6); *αἰδοῖον* (42b 5); *τύλ[ον]* (74, 17); *τὰς ψωλὰς . . . . . τοὺς κύσθους* (Wünsch DTA 77b 1-2. 5-6).

34. *nei possit urinam facere*. Cf. *si in lecto . . . urinam faciat* (Ulp. Dig. XXI 1, 14); Colum. VI 30, 3. 4; Plin. N. H. VIII 68. The curse on the *uisica* = *uesica* (Aud. 190, 11) is the sole parallel to this in the *defixiones*.

*nei*. Appears only here and Avonia 43 and Vesonica 27. This is an old form of the classical *ne* (Lindsay, p. 244). For its bearing on the date of the tablets see Ch. III, § 4; also notes on *seiue*, *deicere* 2 and *ni* 4.

35-37. *natis . . . . . ungis*. Objects of *do tibi* 24. *Ni possit stare* 37 shows the immediate purpose in defixing the parts of the legs.

*natis*. Elsewhere among the *tabellae* only in Aud. 135a 4—*pedes femus uenter natis umlicus*; for other examples see Cat. XXXIII 7; Hor. Ep. VIII 5; Juv. VI 612. Cf. *ungis* 37. On the spelling see Lindsay, p. 404 and

Neue I, p. 383 ff. In the Greek tablets we find *πρωκτόν* (Aud. 42b 5); *πρωκτά* (75b 2); *τὴν π[υ](γῆ)ν* (Wünsch DTA 89).

**anum.** Found only here.

[**fem**]ina. See Avonia 33. Cf. *femena crura talos planta ticanos* (Aud. 190, 11); *femus* (135a 3); *μηρούς* (42b 5; 74, 16). Only in these passages from the *tabellae* are the thighs defixed. For the inflections of *femus* see Neue I, pp. 834 ff.

**genua.** Only here and Aud. 190, 12 where it is spelled *cenua*.

36. [**crura**]. . . . *a* (Avonia 34; Vesonica 36); . . . *u* . . . (Secunda 31); *cru* . . . (Aquillia 31). Similarly *crura* (Aud. 190, 12; see notes on *femina*); *crus* only (135a 8); *crus os pedes* (b 4). In the Greek occur *καταδήσατε τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰς χίρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν Βικτωρικοῦ τοῦ ἡνιόχου* (241, 17); *καταδήσου αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν ἱππῶν) *τα σκέλη* (241, 12); cf. 239, 46-48; 240, 55-60. Specific defixion of the legs is confined to the above passages.

**tibias.** Only here and in *κνήμας* (Aud. 42b 6) is this part of the leg mentioned in a curse.

**pe[des].** See Avonia 34; *pedes femus* (Aud. 135a 3); *crus os pedes frontes uncis dicitos* (b 4-5); 247, 12; 250b 12; 252, 41 (Greek script); *πόδας* (15, 19; 47, 2. 6. 8; 49, 3. 13. 16). The feet of both men and horses are very frequently defixed in Latin and Greek *tabellae* alike.

[**talos**]. See Avonia 35. Occurs elsewhere only in Aud. 190, 12 (see note on *femina*) and *τὰ σφυρά* (15, 20).

[**plantas**]. In Avonia 35 after *talos* is read *.la. . . .* The next part of the leg in order is *planta*, as in *crura talos planta ticanos* (Aud. 190, 12-13)—the only other passage in the *defixiones* where the word is found. Once only in the Greek is the heel defixed: *μηρούς πρωκτόν . . . κνήμας πτέρνας* (Aud. 42b 6).

37. [**digito**]s. See Avonia 35; Vesonica 37; Aquillia 32. The toes are rarely the object of defixion; but see *ticanos* (Aud. 190, 13, quoted in previous note), and *ἄκρα ποδῶν δακτύλους* (42b 7), the only examples.

**ungis.** *uncis* (*pedum*) occurs in Aud. 135b 5 (see note on *pedes*); in a 2 *uncis*=*ungues manuum* as probably *δονυχας* (42b 15 and 75b 1). In pronunciation there was a tendency to sound *gu* like simple *g*; hence *ungue non unge* (Caper VII 105 K). Cf. *ungentari(us)* (CIL I 1065); *ungentario* (1268); *exsanguium*=*exsanguium* (Aud. 251, col. 2, 13). Consult Lindsay, p. 301 and Stolz-Schmalz, p. 109. For acc. in *-is* see note on *natis* 35.

37-38. **ni po[ssit s]tare [sua ui]rt[u]te.** The following are the readings for *uirtute*: . . . *rt. te* (Plotius 38); . . . . *te* (Avonia 36); . . . *tute* (Vesonica 38) . . . *tu* . . . (Secunda 32). The word is here the equivalent of *uiribus*, as in *deum uirtute est te unde hospitio accipiam* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 676); *uirtus in infirmitate perficitur* (Vulg. II Cor. 12, 9) where *uirtus* translates *δύναμις*. There is no exact parallel of *ni possit stare* among the *defixiones*, though we may regard as quasi-parallels the oft-repeated wishes expressed by *cadat* or *cadant* respecting both horses and drivers mentioned in tablets 272-284 of Audollent's collection.

38-43. **Seiue [plu]s . . . [e](c)illunc.** These lines show that this formula belongs to the very limited class of counter-charms. In Audollent's collection we find only two: *ἀνατίθῃμι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ γράψαντα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα* (4a 7 ff.); *γράφω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἀντία ποιοῦντας μετὰ τῶν ἄρων* (14)



"Weit mehr hören wir vom Gegenzauber; die Kunst, die Dämonen unschädlich zu machen ist wichtiger und allgemeiner unter den Menschen verbreitet, als sie zu schädlichen Wirkung anzureizen". Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 160.

39. scrip[tum fuerit]. Sc. a Plotio. See Avonia 37-38; Vesonía 39. Cf. *scripsit mandauit* (sc. Plotius) 40. *Scribo* as used here is a literal translation of γράφω or καταγράφω which are frequently employed as synonyms of δῶ and καταδῶ, as in Aud. 4a 7 ff. and 14 (see previous note); καταγράφω ἔργα πρᾶξις κ. τ. λ. (47, 4); καταγράφω Εὐαγόραν χειρας πόδας κ. τ. λ. (6 ff.); also 67, 5; 74; 75; 76; 84, 5, 9; 87. *Describo* (or perhaps *ascribo*) is used in this sense in 134a 8. *Scribo*, therefore, in this passage is a synonym of *defigo*, *trado*, *do*, *commendo*, *ligo* and its compounds, *mando*, or any other verbs of defixing.

39-40. quomodo . . . mandauit, seic . . . mando. "In what manner he (Plotius) has according to the laws of magic composed any curse (i. e. against me) and entrusted it to writing, in like manner do I consign him to thee". Cf. the previous note. Structurally there is a very close parallel in Aud. 139, 1-6: *Quomodo mortuos qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine . . . mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit*. Cf. 98, 2; 111-112, 5-19. The construction is undoubtedly Greek, as in Aud. 241, 15-18. Wünsch DTA 107 contains two clauses specially guarding against the machinations of the victims who are hostile to the writer or inspirer of the tablet.

39. quicqu[id]. See Avonia 38; Secunda 35. Equivalent to *aliquid*. Cf. *tu, si quid erit de ceteris*, (sc. scribe) *de Bruto utique quidquid* (Cic. Ad Att. XIV 12, 3). See Stolz-Schmalz, p. 626; Wölfflin, Sitzb. der b. Akad. 1882, p. 446 ff. The word is used similarly in Avonia 6 and Vesonía 6.

40. legitim[e]. See Secunda 35. That the rules for composing *defixiones* were known as *leges* is shown by the following: *uti uos eas . . . deuotas consecratasque habeatis ollis legibus quibus quandoque sunt maxime hostes deuoti* (Macr. Sat. III 9, 10). *Nomen delatum* (Aud. 196) is legal phraseology.

mandauit. Similarly *mado* (Aud. 195, 7; 297, 4); *demando* (268, 2; 286b 2; 290b 1-2; 291a 6-7); *commendo* (190, 1, 5; 139, 12).

seic. See under *seicere*, *deicere* 2. This rare spelling of *sic* occurs also in Aud. 139, 3, 9 = CIL I 818; CIL VI 979; 19838; II 3479.

41. Ploti. For *Plotium*; cf. *Auoniam* in Avonia 39 where the context is parallel. The Latin *tabellae* contain many instances of the omission of final *-m* after *u*; e. g., *Crispu* (Aud. 219a 10); *eximiu* (Greek script) (241, 10); *ilu* = *illum* (219a 1); *lucru* (135a 9); *tauru* (247, 16, 18). But nowhere do we find an instance where the entire syllable *-um* is dropped.

[tr]ado, mando. See Avonia 40; Vesonía 43; Secunda 37. Cf. *tradas*, [mandes] 42; [mandes tra]das 44; [aspic]ere, [uidere, contempla]re 45-46. Only in our tablets are these words found side by side. This accumulation of synonyms is characteristic of *defixiones* and of early prayer-formulae (see Stolz-Schmalz, p. 669).

42. [me]nse Februari[o]. But *mensi* in Avonia 41; Vesonía 44; Secunda 38. Cf. 16-17; 45 and Ch. III, § 4.

43. [e]cillunc. *E-* is conjectural. What is probably the upper half of a *c* appears immediately before *-illunc* and too close to it to belong to another word. Between the *c* and the original left-hand edge there is room for one



more letter and one only. The word seems to be a hitherto unattested col. lateral form of *eccillum* with one *c* omitted. But this is not surprising as the non-gemination of *c* and other consonants is very common in the *tabellae* and in vulgar inscriptions in general; e. g., *bucas* (Aud. 135a 5); *ocidas* (286b 6. 8; 287); *Sucesa* (227, 3). We read *eccille* in Apul. Apol. LIII 513 *eccilli*, ib. LXXIV 550; *eccillum* in Plaut. Merc. 435; Persa 247. 392 (*ecillum* P); Pseud. 911; Trin. 622 (*ecillum* P); Curcul. 278. *E(c)cillunc* would be a combination of *ecce*+*ille*+*ce* (cf. *illunc* 5); one or other of the demonstrative constituents, therefore, is superfluous. Since redundancy is one of the commonest characteristics of plebeian speech, we shall have to account for *e(c)cillunc* on the ground of the plebeian origin of the tablets. Cf. Krebs I, p. 441-442; Neue II, 987.

43-44. *mal[e]...disperd[at]*. Cf. *male gurent*=*gyrent* or *girent* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1906, p. 380, Ia 14; p. 382, IIa 42. 44). Here is another accumulation of synonyms as in 7. 8. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45-46. The total effect is something like the English "May he most miserably perish". Probably in popular speech these three verbs were used interchangeably to signify "to perish". *Perdat* and *disperdat* seem to owe their intransitive use in this passage to the analogy of *pereo*, as *perdiam*=*perdeam* for *peream* in Plaut. Poen. 884. The presence of *exset* in this same sentence would make the parallel between *perdo* as an intransitive and *pereo* very close. Cf. *φθορα αφθε*=*φθόρω ἀφθῆ* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 7 IV); *peream male* (Hor. Sat. II 1, 6).

*exse(a)t*. The omission of *a* is probably a *lapsus stili*. Cf. *exiat*=*exeat* (Aud. 250b 15).

44. [*mandes*]. The readings for this are: ..*nd*.. (Avonia 42); *m*.... (Secunda 40). *Mandes* is the only word that satisfies all conditions. After *mandes*, *tradas* supply *illunc* as in 4.

44-46. *ni possit....[contempla]re*. "So that he may not see another month more". See note on *trado*, *mando* 41.

46. [*uidere*, *contempla*]re. See Avonia 44-45; Vesonica 48-49. That only these two words stand in the last line is evident from indications that the tablet tapers suddenly at the lower edge. In the facsimile it can be noticed that the writing of the last three or four lines is crowded.

## COMMENTARY ON AVONIA.

2. *deicere*. Cf. Plotius 2.

4. *Au[on]ia[e]*. The lacuna is not large enough to permit reading a Greek genitive as in 14. 19. 21. 22. 23. 25.

This woman is the owner of Plotius, the victim of the tablet just annotated (cf. Plotius 19). More closely than this we cannot identify her. She belonged to the plebeian *gens Auonia* (or *Aonia*), most of whose representatives were located in Rome, as the inscriptions show (see Thes. Ling. Lat. under *Auonius* (*Aonius*) and also Ch. III, § 3). *Auoniae* is not dative but genitive, on the analogy of Plotius 4.

5. [*hoc*]. In no surviving portion of any of the tablets are *hoc* and *quicquid* read together. Here as in Vesonica 5 there is ample room both to complete *sueis* and to read *hoc* in the same line. In Secunda 4 *hoc* is

the final word of the line and *quicquid* must be read to give the next line an average length. That *quicquid* is not found in Plotius is probably due to the error of the copyist.

6. *quicqui[d]*. = *aliquid*. Here an adverbial acc.; cf. Plotius 39 and note.

[*protinus*]. Conjectured on the basis of . . . *tinu.*, the reading in Vesonía 6; without it the line would fall short of average length. It does not occur in the other three tablets. Should we attempt to read it into Secunda 5 and Aquillia 5, it would be necessary to omit *quicquid*, as these two lines will not permit the addition of two words each.

[*illanc*]. Acc. fem. is required here as in 8. 40 and Vesonía 8. 43. Cf. [*illa[nc]*] (Aquillia 5) and *illunc* (Plotius 5).

14. [*Auoniae*]s. So 19. 21. 22. 23. and Vesonía 22. Greek genitives, as might be expected in a sphere of composition introduced through the Greeks, are of frequent occurrence in the Latin *tabellae*: e. g., *Plotiaes* (Aud. 134a 5); *Veneries*, *Venerioses* (129a 6-8); *Aselles* (140. 5. 14. 15. 18); *Σεπτίμες* = *Septimes* (270, 13).

18. [*Salu*]ia. Not *Proserpina Salvia* as in Plotius 17.

*compotem*. Cf. *compote* in Plotius 18.

25. *liguam*. Cf. *liguas* (Aud. 219a 12-13); *ligua* (303 I 2. 4); II 2. 5; V 6; VI 5. The omission of *n* is probably a faithful representation of a vulgar pronunciation, for we know that before guttural and dental mutes *n* was frequently dropped (Lindsay, p. 66). Even in the Monumentum Ancyranum appears *prouicias* = *prouincias* (V II Mommsen).

31-32. *ni po[ssit] dorm[i]re* is not repeated as in Plotius, and also lacks the adjective *sana*.

40. [*illanc*]. On the analogy of *e(c) cillunc* (Plotius 43) we should expect *eccillanc*, but space forbids so long a form.

41. [*m*]ensi. But *mense* in Plotius 42. See Lindsay, p. 390; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 210.

43. *nei*. Cf. Plotius 34.

## COMMENTARY ON VESONIA.

4. *Maximae Vesoniae*. This name is not found once in all the inscriptions containing the names of members of the *gens Vesonía*. In all the Roman inscriptions of this class only four women are mentioned: *Vesonía L. l. Callutuche* (CIL VI 6136); *Vesonía Proba* (20638); *Vesonía L. l. Athenais* (28623); *Vesonía Cn. f. Procula* (28624). The fact that in *Maxima Vesonía* the individual name is written as a *praenomen* is of prime importance in dating the tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4). For the range of the *gens* see Ch. III, § 3.

6. [*pro*]tinu[s]. Only . . . *tinu.* can be read; the remainder of the word is conjectured. If the victim were to be handed over forthwith to the fevers, the consummation of the wish by the end of February would practically be assured.

13. *mitta[s]*. In Avonia 13 -*m* only. The second person is suggested by *tra[da]s* 4 (supplied from Plotius 4) and *polli[ciarus]* 15 = *polli[cearis]* (supplied from Plotius 13).

17. *mense(m) Martium*. Cf. note on *compote(m)* in Plotius 18.
18. [Salui]a. Not *Proserpina Salvia* as in Plotius 17.
22. [V]esoniaes. Only one Greek genitive in Vesonias; cf., however, the note on Avonia 14.
23. *palpetras*. = *palpebras*. Found only in this tablet; it is either a vulgar form or a *lapsus stili*.
25. *oriclas*. Vulgar form of *auriculas*; cf. note on Plotius 25. Similarly *cornicula* became *cornicla* (Mohl, p. 161); *oculos, oclos* (Aud. 135a 6; b 2); *scapulas, scaplas* (135a 7). See Lindsay, pp. 170 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, pp. 170-171.
- labras*. Nowhere else than in this tablet is the word thus inflected. There are other instances of confusion of gender and inflection; e. g., *uenter* = *uentrem* 32; *uisum* = *uisus* 34; *umblicus* = *umbilicum* 32. Cf. notes on Plotius.
26. *lingua*. For dropping of final *-m* cf. note on *compote(m)* in Plotius 18.
27. *nei*. Cf. note on Plotius 34.
33. *scapulae*. The writer of the tablet seems to have forgotten that the series of nouns in *pectus* . . . . *umblicus* 30-32 were actually accusatives, though also nominatives in form.
- n[i possit dormire]. Cf. note on Avonia 31-32.
42. [Proserpina, tibi]. *Tibi* alone is read in the other tablets of the group, but here it will not suffice, as a number of illegible strokes show that much more than *tibi* was written. The conjecture of *Proserpina*, although unique in this context, suits perfectly and fills the space available.
43. [illa]nc. Cf. note on Avonia 40.
44. There is space between *Februario* and *male* for another *male*. We read it against the single appearance of *male* in the other tablets in this context, because it is contrary to the custom of these tablets to leave so large a space absolutely blank.

## COMMENTARY ON SECUNDA.

3. . . . . i. That this is the genitive singular of a man's name we know for a certainty from [i]llun[c] 38. It is thus parallel with *Ploti* in Plotius 4.
- The length of this and other lines where the victim's name appears regularly in the formula indicates pretty clearly that as a rule only the *gentilicium* is employed.
15. The length of the line does not allow one to read *Salvia* before *Proserpina*; moreover, nowhere in all five formulae is that order observed.
23. . . . . ius. Assumed on the basis of the gen. in *-i* 3.
- 28-29. [ni possit dormire: s]cap[ul]as. The mistake of Plotius is repeated here. *Sanus* must be read.
35. [quic]q[ui]t. Only here can the last letter of the word be made out. It may be that *t* was written similarly in all the other tablets; nevertheless, in them we have assumed the regular ending in *d*.
37. The mere *nomen* is too short for the lacuna. Probably the original was either a phrase like *Ploti Auoniae* in Plotius 19 or consisted of *praenomen* and *nomen* together.

## COMMENTARY ON AQUILLIA.

3. ....ae Aqu[illiae]. That we are here dealing with a woman's name consisting of an individual name and *nomen* is certain from the letters visible and from the context. We assume the order just mentioned on the analogy of *Maxima Vesonia*, yet we cannot deny that *Aqu* . . . . may belong to an individual name such as *Aquila* or *Aquilina*; cf. CIL VI 12253-54. The *nomen Aquillia* is by far the commonest of those beginning in *Aqu* . . . ., and in the majority of instances where it is found in inscriptions from the city of Rome (the place of origin of the tablets) it is spelled with two *l*'s (see Thes. Ling. Lat. under *Aquillius* or *Aquilus*). Nearly all of the women of this *gens* mentioned in the Roman inscriptions are freedwomen.

5. [quicquid]. Cf. note on Avonia 6. *Quicquid* is better attested than *protinus*.

15. [Proserpina]. The line is too short unless the reading of Plotius 17 be assumed.

27. Quit or quid must be read in this position by reason of -nt- of *intestina* being immediately beneath *pulmones* of the next line above; otherwise there will be a gap unaccounted for.

36. [Aquilliam]. The length of the line indicates that one part of the name only is employed here, as in *Vesonia* 22 and 24.

## CHAPTER III.

### § 1 Palaeography of the Tablets.

All five tablets represent a type of early script not far removed from the early capital. When this type is compared with the handwritings of other periods brought together in Plate VIII, its primitive character becomes still more evident, even after due allowance is made for conspicuous differences that must result when wax or papyrus is substituted for lead.

Papyrus presented the easiest surface for writing, as the freedom and frequency of long curved strokes testify ; moreover, it allowed the writing-point to turn at a sharp angle from a down-stroke to an up-stroke without being lifted, as in S in Plate VIII, col. III. On lead free curves are few in number and up-strokes are very weak. The slight angular up-turns to be noticed on E, I, P, T, especially in our tablets, are not, strictly speaking, up-strokes, but accidents due to careless lifting of the *stilus* for the next down-stroke. Writing on lead of all periods shows how difficult it was for the writer to control his *stilus* at a sharp turn or in describing more than a very small arc of a circle. As a rule, when the standard form of letter called for a large arc, the writer sketched it in a broadly angular fashion by lifting his *stilus* two or three times. The number and form of the strokes varied with the relative hardness of the lead. Sometimes where one would expect a curved stroke the *stilus* has suddenly shot forward over an unusually hard or a glazed spot in the metal and engraved a long straight stroke. At other times the point has met a hard granule of stone, with the result that what was intended to be a straight line has become a curve more or less regular. The style of writing on wax was about midway between that on papyrus and that on lead ; that is to say, it is marked by only an average number of curves and up-strokes. The graffiti of Pompei were written on the most unyielding of all the materials chosen to receive writing. In them up-strokes are almost wholly wanting and it is evident that curves were impossible except on a very large scale, for the granular surface of the walls offered too great a resistance to the



metal point. The writing of the graffiti is even more cramped and angular than any found on lead. But beneath all these differences due to materials the typical hands of the various periods can be distinguished. Applying this conclusion specifically to our tablets we find that with all their peculiarities of handwriting they show, even without the detailed analysis which follows, their close kinship with all cursive writing of the first century B. C. on lead, papyrus, wax, or wall.

In our tablets A is the most variable letter of the entire alphabet. Stripped of its eccentricities it reduces itself to four types —  $\Lambda$   $\Delta$   $\lambda$   $\Delta$ . These are older forms than a very large number of those found in the Pompeian wax-tablets and are apparently about contemporary with those in columns I, II, III, IV (Plate VIII). But other letters are more conclusive for date. (Cf. the tables in Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, 3 ed., p. 3).

B resolves itself into two types. One is manifestly a copy of the capital, as in the first line of Plotius and Vesonia, where for obvious reasons all the letters are written with much more than ordinary care. The other type —  $\overline{D}$  — is shown by a comparison with the same letter in other alphabets to be confined to handwriting of the first century B. C. The concave upper portion of the right-hand stroke differentiates it from the later cursive form —  $\alpha$  — which is easily mistaken for a D. But the early form cannot be so mistaken. This letter, therefore, points with considerable probability to the first century B. C. as the period to which our tablets belong.

C varies just as we should expect a curve to do on this material. The form with two strokes seen in columns III–X does not occur in our tablets, and, as it is found on lead only in the later period, may have been developed on papyrus.

D clings closely to the capital in form —  $\overline{D}$ . Save in one or two instances, and those accidental, the left-hand stroke is perpendicular, while the right-hand stroke extends in a regular curve from a point to the left of and above the other stroke to a point to the right of and below it, thus describing a quadrant. The minuscule d is formed by converting the left-hand stroke into a loop and the right into a straight line which gradually assumes the perpendicular. This letter, therefore, is a good indicator of period.

E and F are uniformly  $\parallel$  and  $\parallel$ , and are of no value in dating, as consultation of the tables will show.

	I	II	III	IV	Aquillia	Plotius	Avonia	Vesonia	Secunda	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
a	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	a	a	a
b	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	b	b	B
c	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	c	c	C
d	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	d	d	D
e	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	e	e	E
f	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	f	f	F
g	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	g	g	G
h	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	h	h	H
i	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	i	i	I
l	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	l	l	L
m	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	m	m	M
n	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	n	N
o	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	o	o	O
p	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	p	p	P
q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	q	q	Q
r	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	r	r	R
s	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	s	s	S
t	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	t	t	T
u	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	u	u	U
x	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	x	X

- I. *Pompeian Graffiti*. C. I. L. IV 4966-4973. Date, 75-40 B. C.  
 II. *Roman Lead Tablet*. C. I. L. I 818, VI 140; Ritschl, P. L. M. E. xvii 30. Date, 50-10 B. C.  
 III. *Rainer Papyrus*. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Paläographie*, Plate I. Date, 21-18 B. C.  
 IV. *Rainer Papyrus*. Same as for column III.

- V. *Pompeian Wax Tablets*. C. I. L. IV<sup>1</sup>. Date, 53-79 A. D.  
 VI. *Dacian Wax Tablets*. C. I. L. III<sup>2</sup>. Date, 139-167 A. D.  
 VII. *British Museum Papyrus*. Palaeographical Society II 190. Date, 166 A. D.  
 VIII. *Lead Tablets from Nomentum*. Audollent, 133-136. Date, end of second or beginning of third century A. D.

- IX. *Sethian Lead Tablets*. Wünsch, *Sethianische Tafeln*. Date, fourth century A. D.  
 X. *Lead Tablet from Hadrumetum*. Audollent, 286. Date, third century A. D.



G is almost uniformly C, its variations being accidental. This points to a date at least as early as the Pompeian wax-tablets.

H exhibits consistently the pure capital form. All of its lines are practically straight, and show none of the minuscule tendency seen even as early as the handwritings of columns III and IV. This letter may be classed with B and D for purposes of dating.

I varies greatly in height, but there is no connection between this variation and the quantity of the vowel.

K appears nowhere in the tablets.

As a rule the lower stroke of L rises above the horizontal. In late handwriting the tendency was for it to drop. In column I we must understand a faint up-stroke, or an attempt at an up-stroke baulked by the unyielding surface of the wall, immediately preceding the visible down-stroke. The process of making this kind of L is seen with great distinctness in many instances in all our tablets.

M generally appears in the capital form with such modifications as the material would cause. In three tablets an occasional |||| is noted.

N shows natural variations of the capital only. This letter and M are of no service in determining date.

The two-stroked O — ( ), (ʹ — which is found in our tablets, is normal for all periods. The latter form may be attributed to haste rather than to material.

The loop of P is never written; the letter is always Ꝁ. This would point to a period prior to the second century A. D.

Of Q our tablets give only the cursive form — ɳ —, never the modified capital — ( ʹ ). Both forms are early, as Plate VIII shows.

R is as a rule a hastily written capital, but sometimes shades off towards the purely cursive form without fully attaining it.

S is uniformly made with only one stroke. It seems to be a little earlier than the forms in columns III and IV.

T, V, and X fail to exhibit any noteworthy characteristics.

Y and Z do not occur.

In none of the five tablets is a ligature employed. This is characteristic of the *defixiones* and doubtless results from the desire to make the words complete. The Sethian tablets are an exception to the rule (cf. Wünsch, *Seth.*, pp. 53, 55), but even here the ligatures are few and simple.

In nearly every instance the words are clearly divided from one



another by points situated a little above the line. Although unnecessary, this kind of punctuation is frequently observed even at the end of a line. On the other hand, the words of the oft-repeated phrase *do tibi* are seldom divided. Wider spacing between words than between letters also helps to distinguish the different words.

Among the palaeographical peculiarities of the tablets may be classed the syllabic division of words at the end of a line, as in Plotius 4. 13, and Vesonias 29. Very similar is the method of correcting an omission, as in Plotius 11.

## § 2 Number of Hands.

The handwriting of the several tablets is almost our sole criterion for determining the probable number of hands employed in their production. Examination shows that the same hand wrote Avonia, Vesonias, Plotius and Aquillia, although the script is not absolutely uniform. Avonia and Vesonias differ very little from one another. They are carefully and evenly written throughout. Plotius and Aquillia, on the contrary, manifest a great lack of care. The notable variation in size, slant, and alignment of the letters indicates a certain amount of haste. The hand, however, is the same (cf. with Avonia and Vesonias, e. g., Plotius 25-42, a passage written with more than usual care; and with Aquillia, Plotius 10-16, the most careless portion of that tablet).

The relation of Secunda is by no means as easy to determine. Only a small portion of the tablet has survived. It shows fewer free curves, and, towards the end, degenerates to a mere scrawl. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the hand is evidently the same as before. It is true that the writing is very much larger, but it was quite possible for a man to adopt a new size of handwriting in beginning a new tablet or a new page, as is shown by the enlarged hand uniformly maintained for seven lines on the reverse of Vesonias. A comparison of this with the best writing of Secunda makes it plain that the two handwritings are of equal proportions, and, moreover, exhibit in almost every point the same characteristics. With this conclusion compare the remark of Wünsch: "Die Hand eines Zauberer ist auch überall da im Spiele, wo ein Fund mehrere Tafeln mit demselben ausführlichen magischen Apparat vereinigt . . . .".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seth., p. 76, note 1.



There are, on the other hand, certain features of the formulae which tend to divide the tablets into groups in a striking way and which may have some connection with the question now under discussion. In Avonia and Vesonia we find *scapulas* (or *scapulae*) in its natural position; both probably contain *protinus* and neither repeats the expression *ni possit dormire*. On the contrary, Plotius, Aquillia and Secunda show *scapulas* out of its logical position, omit *protinus*, and repeat *ni possit dormire* with the addition of *sanus* or *sana* as the case may be. These discrepancies find their most plausible explanation in the assumption that the author first wrote Avonia and Vesonia, when he was fresh and unwearied, for they exhibit the best handwriting and contain fewest errors; that he next wrote Plotius and Aquillia (or in reverse order), omitting *protinus*, misplacing *scapulas*, repeating *ni possit dormire*, and at the same time allowing the writing to degenerate somewhat; and that last of all he wrote Secunda, where the mistakes of Plotius and Aquillia are repeated and the increasingly careless writing manifests the writer's weariness in a long task and his growing impatience as he approached the end.

### § 3 Provenience.

Positive testimony is lacking to show exactly where the Johns Hopkins tablets were written, but the appearance of the *nomina gentilia*, *Vesonia* and *Auonia*, and the peculiar cast of the formulae, all point to Rome.

The *gens Vesonia*, as was pointed out in the commentary on Vesonia, was known over a wide region of the Roman world. The name is found once in a Spanish inscription (CIL II 1509); eleven times in Campania and vicinity (IV 273; 830; (3471; 3477; 3478; 3480; 3481; 3482; 4512);<sup>1</sup> 4012; 4678; 5918; X 170; 901; 3091 bis); six times in Apulia and Samnium (IX 898; 2020; 2021 bis; 2421 bis); once in Northern Italy (V 961); twelve times in Rome (VI 6136; 10407; 20638 ter; 28621 bis; 28622; 28623 bis; 28624; XV 3688); once in Gallia Narbonensis (XII 5690-128). In brief, the name is found by far the most frequently in Central Italy.

In the second place a peculiar cast of the formulae links them with formulae the provenience of which is certain. Formulae written in one locality are, as a rule, very similar in most partic-

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in brackets refer to one individual.

ulars; while there may be many individual differences in spelling and in the order of the expressions employed, yet there still remain the ear-marks of the local school of magi. For example, formulae from Cyprus have such strong mutual resemblances that these, in the absence of other evidences, would be sufficient to identify a tablet from that island;<sup>1</sup> and the same is true of the tablets from Carthage,<sup>2</sup> Hadrumetum,<sup>3</sup> and fourth century Rome.<sup>4</sup> The mutual resemblances among formulae from other localities are less marked, but are nevertheless far from being imaginary; e. g., the Cnidian<sup>5</sup> and the Attic formulae.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these there is a group of three tablets from Latium<sup>7</sup> whose formulae resemble not only one another but also the formulae of our tablets. The feature common to all is the painfully detailed list of bodily members of the several victims concerned. This is found to some extent in other groups, but in none but the group from Latium does it receive such careful attention. Audollent assigns all three tablets to the second century of the Christian era,<sup>8</sup> a period at least two centuries later than that in which our tablets originated. But the chronology of these compositions has less bearing in the present connection than the fact that all possess in common a characteristic feature which stamps them as a local group. It seems therefore likely that our tablets represent an early type of which the later formulae are degenerate offspring.<sup>9</sup>

Still clearer and more definite indications are furnished by the range of the *gens Auonia* which is known only from epigraphical sources. The name (including the form *Aonia*) occurs in thirty-six inscriptions from Rome, in three from Latium and in only five from all other localities together (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* under *Auonius* and *Aonius*.) Its presence in our tablets points with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aud. 22-37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aud. 234-242.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aud. 272-274; 275-284; 286-291; 292-294.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aud. 159-187=Wünsch, Seth.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aud. 1-13.

<sup>6</sup> Wünsch DTA 64-73; Aud., p. xlv.

<sup>7</sup> Aud. 134; 135; 190.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aud. ind., p. 556; Schneider no. 389.

<sup>9</sup> "Dissentire praecipue defixiones fateor quae locis aetateque separatae a diuersissimis exaratae sunt hominibus, dum contra arta quadam adfinitate ne dicam cognatione fere coniunguntur quae conscriptae simul fuerunt; diuisos nihilominus regione quanquam re et tempore proximos titulos aut contra loco uicinos aetate longinquos non miraberis omnino non consonare". Aud., p. xcvi.

strong probability to the conclusion that they were written in Rome.

#### § 4 Date of the Tablets.

The only evidence bearing on the date to which the tablets should be assigned is that furnished by the text itself, especially the type of the alphabet, the use of the aspirate *ch*, of *ei* for *i*, of *lucto* for the deponent *luctor*, and finally the order of words in the name *Maxima Vesonia*.

The alphabet has been so fully discussed in § 1 that only a summary of its special features needs to be given here. The letters may be divided into three grades according to their importance in this connection. First, there are those letters that have practically no value—C, E, F, I, M, N, O, Q, T, V, X; secondly, those that indicate the time within certain broad limits—A, G, L, P, R; and thirdly, those that determine the period within comparatively narrow limits—B, D, H, S.

The letters of the second group alone warrant the assertion that our tablets are earlier than the wax-tablets of Dacia; but those of the third group set the limit back fully a century. In fact, they probably antedate the hands represented in columns III and IV of Plate VIII, and at the same time fall between the periods represented by the hands in columns I and II. B and H are particularly decisive letters. Alphabetical peculiarities, therefore, not only fix the *terminus ad quem* at 100 A. D., but point to the period between 75 and 25 B. C.

The use of the aspirate *ch* in *pulchra* and *bracchia* sets the *terminus a quo* not earlier than 105, and, in all probability not earlier than 75 B. C.; for only one example<sup>1</sup> of an aspirated consonant is noted prior to the period 105–95. The phenomenon fluctuates between 95 and 55, but after that date is practically constant.<sup>2</sup>

The use of *ei* for *i* occurs in our tablets in *sei*, *seine*, *seic*, *sueis*, *nei*, *deicere*. The first four words appear uniformly thus, but the last two appear generally as *ni* and *dicere*. The absence of *ne* is noteworthy.

In the department of *defixiones* every tablet where *ei* is used for *i* is assigned to the first century B. C. The following words occur: *eimferis* (Aud. 137, 1); *infereis* (199, 6); *nisei* (197, 3);

<sup>1</sup> CIL I 541; VI 331.

<sup>2</sup> Ritschl, Opus. IV, p. 765; Schneider, p. 131.

*seïue* (196, 3); *quei* (139, 11); *seic* (139, 3. 9); *tibei* (139, 13). In his note on *infereis* Audollent accounts the spelling as one of the reasons for assigning the tablet in which it is found to the first century B. C.

Beside this we place the testimony of the Pompeian private inscriptions which likewise belong to the vulgar sphere. Here Lommatzsch<sup>1</sup> has collected the instances that manifestly belong to the Empire and finds only eighteen. "This", he says, "beside the great mass of extant inscriptions is a vanishingly small number". His final conclusion (p. 137) embracing official and private inscriptions together is that the use of *ei* for *ī* in the inscriptions of the Empire is limited to a few quite definite instances, especially the plural endings of the second declension; and, though frequent at the beginning of the Empire, it soon declines to the extent of practically disappearing, except in a few fossilized words, as *heic*, *sei*, *seïue*, *seic*.

So far, then, as *sueis*, *sei*, *seïue* and *seic* are concerned, there is nothing to suggest a period earlier than the reign of Augustus, but *deicere* occurring twice and *nei* three times as against *dicere* eight times and *ni* fourteen times point back to a period of transition. In accurately dated inscriptions *deicere* dies out with the Lex Iulia Municipalis<sup>2</sup> of 45 B. C., where we find only *deicet* (8) and *deicere* (110) as compared with many occurrences of the later form. In this inscription *ni* is found only once (136) and *niue* once (131); *nei* and *neiue* ten times all told, while examples of *ne* and *neue* are too numerous to count. These facts, too, point to a period of transition and to the decided predominance of *ne* and *dicere* over the earlier forms. In the Cenotaphia Pisana<sup>3</sup> of 13 A. D. *nei* and *neiue* have disappeared and only *ni*, *niue*, and *ne*, *neue* remain, while the Monumentum Ancyranum of the next year shows only *ne*. Doubtless had the Pisan inscriptions been under Imperial direction the forms *ni* and *niue* would not have appeared at all. Now Ritschl<sup>4</sup> has observed that *ni* occupied a middle position in time between *nei* and *ne*. In other words, *ne* was the form employed almost exclusively in the fifth century of the city; then *nei* appeared followed closely by *ni*. In the seventh century the three forms are used side by side; but in the eighth *ni* forms drop out, *nei* forms appear but

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 132-133.

<sup>3</sup> CIL XI 1420-1421.

<sup>2</sup> CIL I 206.

<sup>4</sup> Opus. II, pp. 624 ff.



seldom,<sup>1</sup> and *ne* forms become the standard. The almost exclusive use of *ni* in our tablets is, therefore, clear warrant for assigning them to a period not far removed from the Lex Iulia Municipalis, say not later than 25 B. C.

The use of *lucto* in the active voice points with considerable probability to the first century B. C. The latest appearance of *lucto* uncompounded is a passage in the *De Lingua Latina* of Varro<sup>2</sup> which was written before 43 B. C.<sup>3</sup> Only the compound *relucto* is noted after the end of the Republic and that only three times and under circumstances where we should expect to find archaic diction. The testimony of Priscian relative to the antiquity of *lucto* is that it was used only by the very early authors.<sup>4</sup> In our tablets, therefore, we have one of the latest recorded examples of this verb which disappears from extant literature before 40 B. C.<sup>5</sup>

Mommsen in a note on CIL I 1063 makes this remark: "In-sunt in hoc cum quibusdam notis altioris antiquitatis ut sunt nomen proprium muliebre primo loco positum (*Marta Postumia, Salvia Seruia*) et orthographica quaedam (*liberteis, meeis, Antio-cus*)". . . . Our tablets exhibit the first of these phenomena in the name *Maxima Vesonia*, and possibly in *Aquillia*.<sup>6</sup> It is well-known that in the earlier Republic a daughter's name<sup>7</sup> was made up of her father's *gentilicium* and an individual name used as a *praenomen*: e. g., *Secunda Valeria, Maxsuma Sadria, Prima Pompeia*. This *praenomen* was not abbreviated like the masculine *praenomen*, but was written in full. Its use was optional, however, and resembled in that respect the masculine *cognomen*. In the later Republic it became customary to drop the *praenomen* altogether and employ simply the gentile name; e. g., *Antonia, Caesonia, Calpurnia, Cornelia, Iulia*. About the end of the Republic the custom changed again and the individual names were once more used, not as *praenomina*, however, but as *cognomina*; e. g., *Vitellia Rufilla, Caecilia Metella*. This became

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lomm.

<sup>2</sup> V 10, 61.

<sup>3</sup> See Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, 3 ed. VIII 1, II, p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> "Praeterea plurima inveniuntur apud vetustissimos, quae contra consuetudinem uel actiuam pro passiuam uel passiuam pro actiuam habent terminationem, ut . . . lucto pro luctor . ." VIII 5, 25 K.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note on Plotius 7, and Neue III 53.

<sup>6</sup> See Aquillia 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marquardt-Mau, p. 17 which we have substantially translated.



the established custom for the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Now the name *Maxima Vesonias* belongs to the older type, while *Auonia* conforms either to the optional method of dropping the *praenomen* in the earlier period or to the customary usage of a somewhat later period. The mixed usage doubtless indicates a period of transition, which must be placed several years earlier than 25 B. C. and probably earlier than the year 40. At all events our tablets are earlier than Aud. 190 = CIL I 818, which is dated 50-10 B. C.; there we read *Sergia Glycinna*.

In short, all the lines of evidence point clearly to the first century B. C. as the period in which the Johns Hopkins tablets were written. The character of the alphabet employed and the use of *ei* for *i* show that they are not later than 25 B. C., while the appearance of the aspirate *ch* indicates a time not much earlier than 75 B. C. The active *lucto* could scarcely have appeared after 40 B. C., nor at the same time is it likely that the names *Maxima Vesonias* and *Auonia* could have been used together after that date. We are therefore justified in concluding that the tablets were written in the month of February (as the formulae state) during a year of the period between 75 and 40 B. C., the actual date probably being nearer to 40 than to 75.

<sup>1</sup> See also Mau in Pauly-Wissowa under *cognomen*, IV, p. 229.

# INDICES.

## I

### INDEX VERBORUM.

#### Abbreviations.

P=Plotius.  
S=Secunda.

Av=Avonia.  
Aq=Aquillia.

V=Vesonia.  
F=fragment.

Acheruosiam, P 16, 11; 18, 11; Av 19, 12; 21, 12; V 24, 12; S 27, 10; Aq 28, 10; 30, 10.  
adiutare, P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20, 28; 21, 28; V 23, 30; 24, 30; S 27, 25; Aq 29, 25; 30, 25.  
aliquid, (acc.), Av 20, 27; 21, 27; S 27, 25; Aq 30, 25.  
aliquit, (acc.), P 17, 28; 18, 28; V 23, 29; 24, 29.  
amplius, P 17, 45; 19, 45; Av 20, 43; 22, 43; V 23, 47; 25, 47; S 28, 41; Aq 31, 39.  
animam, P 18, 8; Av 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
ante, P 18, 16; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S 27, 15; Aq 30, 14.  
anum, P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av 20, 34; 21, 34; V 25, 35; S 26, 30; 28, 30; Aq 30, 31.  
Aquillia, (nom.), Aq 30, 23.  
Aquilliae, (gen.), Aq 28, 3; 29, 3; 30, 12. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23.  
Aquilliam, Aq 31, 36.  
arcessitum, (sup.), P 16, 12; 18, 12; Av 19, 13; 21, 13; V 22, 13; 24, 13; S 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.  
aspicere, P 17, 45; 19, 45; Av 20, 44; 22, 44; V 23, 48; 25, 48; S 26, 41; 28, 41; Aq 31, 40.  
Auonia, (nom.), Av 20, 26; 21, 26.  
Auoniae, (gen.), P 16, 19; 18, 19; Av 19, 4. 20; 20, 25; 20, 4; 21, 20. 25.  
Auoniaes, Av 19, 14. 19. 21. 22. 23; 21, 14. 19. 21. 22. 23.  
Auoniam, Av 20, 39; 21, 39.

bona, P 16, 1; 17, 1; Av 19, 1; 20, 1; V 22, 1; 24, 1; S 27, 1; Aq 29, 1.  
braccia, (acc.), P 17, 28; 18, 28; Av 20, 27; 21, 27; V 23, 29; 24, 29; S 26, 24; 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
canem, P 16, 12; 18, 12; Av 19, 13; 21, 13; V 22, 13; 24, 13; S 25, 11; 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.  
caput, (acc.), P 16, 18; 18, 18; Av 19, 19; 21, 19; V 22, 19; 24, 19; S 27, 17; Aq 30, 16.  
caricas, P 16, 15; 18, 15; Av 19, 16; 21, 16; V 24, 16; S 27, 14; Aq 30, 13.  
cogitationibus, P 16, 4; 17, 4; Av 19, 5; 20, 5; V 22, 5; 24, 5; S 25, 4; 27, 4; Aq 28, 4; 29, 4.  
collum, (acc.), P 17, 27; 18, 27; Av 21, 26; V 23, 28; 24, 28; S 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
colorem, P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 27, 3; Aq 29, 3.  
compote=compotem, P 16, 18.  
compotem, Av 19, 20; 21, 20; V 22, 18; 24, 18; S 27, 16; Aq 30, 16.  
contemplare, P 17, 46; 19, 46; Av 20, 45; 22, 45; V 23, 49; 25, 49; S 28, 42; Aq 31, 40.  
cor, (acc.), P 16, 13; 17, 29; 18, 13. 29; Av 19, 14; 20, 28; 21, 14. 28; V 22, 14; 23, 30; 24, 14. 30; S 27, 12. 26; Aq 30, 12. 26.  
corpus, (acc.), P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 25, 2; 27, 2; Aq 29, 3.

- cottidianae*, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6;  
 Av 21, 7; V 24, 7; S 27, 6; Aq  
 30, 6.  
*crura*, (acc.), P 18, 36; Av 20, 34;  
 21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36; S 28, 31;  
 Aq 29, 31; 30, 31.  
*cum*, (conj.), P 16, 18; 18, 18; Av  
 19, 18; 21, 18; V 22, 18; 24, 18;  
 S 27, 16; Aq 30, 15.  
*cum*, (prep.), P 17, 7; Av 19, 8; 21,  
 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; S 25, 6; 27, 6;  
 Aq 30, 6.  
  
*dabo*, P 18, 17; Av 19, 18; 21, 18;  
 V 24, 18; S 27, 16; Aq 30, 15.  
*daturum*, (sc. esse), P 16, 14; 18, 14;  
 Av 19, 15; 21, 15; V 22, 15; 24,  
 15; S 27, 13; Aq 30, 13.  
*deicere*, P 16, 2; 17, 2; Av 19, 2; 20,  
 2; see *deicere*.  
*deluctent*, P 17, 7; Av 21, 8; V 24,  
 8; S 27, 7; Aq 30, 6.  
*dentes*, (acc.), P 17, 26; 18, 26; Av  
 20, 25; 21, 25; V 23, 26; 24, 26;  
 S 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.  
*dicere*, P 16, 11; 17, 26; 18, 11, 26;  
 Av 19, 12; 20, 25; 21, 12, 25; V  
 22, 2, 12; 23, 27; 24, 2, 12, 27; S  
 26, 10; 27, 2, 10, 23; Aq 28, 2, 10;  
 29, 2; 30, 10, 23; F no. 87, p. 31;  
 see *deicere*.  
*digitos* (manuum), P 17, 28; 18, 28;  
 Av 20, 27; 21, 27; V 23, 29; 24,  
 29; S 26, 24; 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
*digitos* (pedum), P 17, 37; 18, 37; Av  
 20, 35; 21, 35; V 23, 37; 25, 37;  
 S 28, 32; Aq 29, 32; 30, 32.  
*disperdat*, (int.), P 17, 44; 19, 44;  
 Av 20, 42; 22, 42; V 23, 46; 25,  
 46; S 26, 40; 28, 40; Aq 29, 39;  
 31, 39.  
*do*, P 16, 18, 20, 21, 22; 18, 18, 20,  
 21, 22, 23, 24; Av 19, 19 bis, 21,  
 22, 23, 24; 21, 19 bis, 21, 22, 23,  
 24; V 22, 19, 20, 22; 23, 23, 24,  
 25; 24, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25; S 26,  
 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 27, 16, 17, 18,  
 19, 20, 21; Aq 29, 17, 18, 21; 30,  
 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.  
*doleat*, P 17, 27, 31; 18, 27, 31; Av  
 20, 26, 30; 21, 26, 30; V 23, 28,  
 32; 24, 28; 25, 32; S 26, 23; 27,  
 23, 27; Aq 30, 24, 27.  
*dormire*, P 17, 32, 33; 18, 32, 33;  
 Av 20, 32; 21, 32; V 25, 33; S  
 27, 28; 28, 29; Aq 30, 28, 29.  
*dum*, P 18, 8; Av 21, 9; V 22, 9;  
 24, 9; S 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
  
*e(c)illunc*, P 17, 43; 19, 43.  
*ego*, P 17, 41; 18, 41; Av 20, 39; 21,  
 39; V 25, 41; S 26, 36; 28, 36;  
 Aq 31, 36.  
*eius*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21,  
 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27,  
 8; Aq 30, 8.  
*eripiant*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10;  
 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8;  
 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
*eripias*, P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20,  
 3; V 22, 2; 24, 2; S 27, 2; Aq  
 28, 2; 29, 2.  
*eripiat*, P 16, 13; 18, 13; Av 19, 14;  
 21, 14; V 22, 14; 24, 14; S 25,  
 12; 27, 12; Aq 30, 12.  
*euincant*, P 16, 8; 18, 8; Av 19, 9;  
 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 25, 7; 27,  
 7; Aq 30, 7.  
*exseat*, Av 20, 41; 22, 41; S 28, 40;  
 Aq 31, 38.  
*exset*, P 17, 43; 19, 43; V 23, 45;  
 25, 45; see *exseat*.  
  
*facere*, P 17, 34; 18, 34; Av 20, 33;  
 21, 33; V 23, 35; 25, 35; S 26, 30;  
 28, 30; Aq 30, 30.  
*febri*, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6; Av 19,  
 7; 21, 7; V 22, 7; 24, 7; S 27,  
 5; Aq 28, 5; 29, 5.  
*Februarius*, (abl.), P 17, 42; 19, 42;  
 Av 20, 41; 22, 41; V 23, 44; 25,  
 44; S 26, 39; 28, 39; Aq 31, 38.  
*feceris*, (fut. pf.), P 16, 18; 18, 18;  
 Av 19, 18; 21, 18; V 22, 19; 24,  
 19; S 26, 16; 27, 16; Aq 30, 16.  
*femina*, (acc.), P 17, 35; 18, 35;  
 Av 20, 33; 21, 33; V 25, 35; S 28,  
 31; Aq 29, 30; 30, 30.  
*frontem*, P 16, 20; 18, 20; Av 19,  
 20; 21, 20; V 22, 20; 24, 20; S  
 27, 18; Aq 30, 17.  
*fuerit*, (fut. pf.), P 18, 39; Av 20,  
 38; 21, 38; V 23, 39; 25, 39; S  
 28, 35; Aq 30, 34.  
*genua*, (acc.), P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av  
 20, 34; 21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36;  
 S 26, 31; 28, 31; Aq 30, 31.  
  
*haec*, (acc.), P 18, 17; Av 19, 17;  
 21, 17; V 22, 18; 24, 18; S 27,  
 15; Aq 30, 15.  
*hanc*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21,  
 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27,  
 8; Aq 28, 8; 30, 8.  
*hoc*, (acc.), P 16, 5, 16; 17, 5; 18,  
 16; Av 19, 16; 20, 5; 21, 16; V  
 22, 17; 24, 5, 17; S 25, 4; 27, 4,  
 14; Aq 29, 5; 30, 14.

- illa, (abl.), Av 19, 8; 20, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; Aq 30, 6.
- illanc, Av 20, 6; 21, 8; 22, 40; V 23, 43; 24, 6. 8; 25, 43; Aq 28, 5; 29, 5; 30, 6; 31, 37.
- illi, (dat. masc.), P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 21, 15; V 24, 15; S 27, 13; Aq 30, 13.
- illo, P 17, 7; S 27, 6.
- illunc, P 16, 5; 17, 5. 7; S 26, 38; 27, 5. 7; 28, 38; see(c) cillunc.
- intestinal, (acc.), P 17, 31; 18, 31; Av 20, 30; 21, 30; V 23, 32; 25, 32; S 27, 27; Aq 29, 27; 30, 27.
- iocinera, (acc.), P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20, 28; 21, 28; V 23, 30; 24, 30; S 26, 25; 27, 25; Aq 30, 26.
- labra, (acc.), P 17, 25; 18, 25; Av 19, 24; 21, 24; S 26, 21; 27, 21; Aq 30, 22.
- labras, V 23, 25; 24, 25.
- latera, (acc.), P 17, 32; 18, 32; Av 20, 31; 21, 31; V 25, 33; S 27, 28; Aq 30, 28.
- legitime, P 17, 40; 18, 40; Av 20, 38; 21, 38; V 25, 40; S 26, 35; 28, 35; Aq 29, 35; 31, 35.
- liguam, Av 20, 25; 21, 25; see linguam.
- lingua, (acc.), V 23, 26; 24, 26; see linguam.
- linguam, P 17, 25; 18, 25; S 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.
- luctent, P 16, 7; 17, 7; Av 19, 8; 21, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; S 25, 6; 27, 6; Aq 28, 6; 30, 6.
- male, P 17, 43 bis. 44; 19, 43 bis. 44; Av 20, 42; 22, 41 bis. 42; V 23, 44. 45. 46; 25, 44 bis. 45 bis. 46; S 26, 39 bis; 28, 39 bis. 40; Aq 31, 38 ter.
- mandauit, P 17, 40; 18, 40; Av 20, 39; 21, 39; V 23, 41; 25, 41; S 28, 36; Aq 31, 36.
- mandes, P 19, 42. 44; Av 20, 42; 22, 42; S 26, 40; 28, 40; Aq 29, 37; 31, 37. 39.
- mando, P 17, 41; 18, 41; Av 20, 40; 22, 40; V 23, 43; 25, 43; S 28, 38; Aq 31, 37.
- Martium, P 16, 17; 18, 17; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S 27, 15; Aq 30, 15.
- Maxima, (nom.), V 23, 27; 24, 27; see Vesoniam.
- Maximae, (gen.), V 22, 4. 19. 21; 23, 23. 26; 24, 4. 14. 19. 21. 23. 26; see Vesoniae and Vesonias.
- Maximam, V 23, 41; 25, 41; see Vesoniam.
- me=mihi, P 16, 12; 18, 12; Av 19, 13; 21, 13; V 24, 12; S 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.
- me, (acc.), P 16, 2. 10. 11; 17, 2; 18, 10. 11; Av 19, 11; 20, 2; 21, 11. 12; V 22, 2. 11. 12; 24, 2. 11. 12; S 25, 19; 27, 1. 9. 10; Aq 28, 9; 29, 2; 30, 9. 10.
- mense=mensem, V 22, 17; 24, 17.
- mense, (abl.), P 17, 42; 19, 42; Aq 31, 37.
- mensem, P 18, 16; 19, 44; Av 20, 44; 21, 17; 22, 44; V 23, 48; 25, 48; S 26, 41; 27, 15; 28, 41; Aq 30, 14; 31, 40.
- mensi, (abl.), Av 20, 41; 22, 41; V 23, 44; 25, 44; S 26, 38; 28, 38; mittas, P 18, 12; Av 19, 13; 21, 13; V 22, 13; 24, 13; S 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.
- nares, (acc.), P 17, 24; 18, 24; Av 21, 24; V 23, 26; 24, 26; S 26, 21; 27, 21; Aq 30, 21.
- nasum, P 17, 25; 18, 25; Av 19, 24; 21, 24; V 23, 26; 24, 26; S 26, 22; 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.
- natis, P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av 20, 33; 21, 33; V 25, 35; S 28, 30; Aq 30, 31.
- nei, P 17, 34; 18, 34; Av 20, 43; 22, 43; V 23, 27; 24, 27; see ni.
- ni=ne, P 16, 4; 17, 26. 30. 32. 33. 37. 44; 17, 4; 18, 26. 28. 30. 32. 33. 37; 19, 44; Av 20, 29. 31. 32. 35. 5; 21, 25. 27. 29. 31. 32. 35; V 22, 5; 23, 29. 33. 34. 37. 47; 24, 5. 29. 31; 25, 33. 34. 37. 47; S 26, 28. 32; 27, 4. 23. 24. 26. 28 bis; 28, 30. 32. 41; Aq 29, 4; 30, 23. 25. 26. 28 bis. 30. 32; 31, 39.
- nigrum, (acc. masc.), P 16, 15; 18, 15; Av 19, 16; 21, 16; V 22, 16; 24, 16; S 27, 14; Aq 30, 14.
- oportet, P 16, 2. 12; 17, 2; 18, 12; Av 19, 2. 13; 20, 2; 21, 13; V 22, 2. 12; 24, 2. 12; S 27, 2. 11; Aq 29, 2; 30, 10.
- oriclas, V 23, 25; 24, 25; see oriculas.
- oriculas, P 17, 25; 18, 25; Av 19, 24; 21, 24; S 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.
- palmas, P 16, 15; 18, 15; Av 19, 16; 21, 16; V 22, 16; 24, 16; S 25, 13; 27, 13; Aq 28, 13; 30, 13.

- palpebras, P 16, 22; 18, 22; Av 19, 22; 21, 22; S 27, 20; Aq 30, 19.
- palpetras, V 23, 23; 24, 23; see palpebras.
- paruum, (nom.), P 17, 38; 18, 38; Av 20, 37; 21, 37; V 23, 39; 25, 39; S 28, 34; Aq 29, 34; 30, 34.
- pectus, (acc.), P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20, 38; 21, 38; V 24, 30; S 26, 25; 27, 25; Aq 30, 25.
- pedes, (acc.), P 17, 36; 18, 36; Av 20, 34; 21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36; S 26, 31; 28, 31; Aq 30, 31.
- perdat, (int.), P 19, 43; Av 22, 41; V 23, 45; 24, 45; S 26, 39; 28, 39; Aq 31, 38.
- perfecerit, (fut. pf.), P 16, 16; 18, 16; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S 25, 14; 27, 14; Aq 30, 14.
- plantas, P 18, 36; Av 20, 35; 21, 35; V 25, 37; S 28, 32; Aq 30, 32.
- Ploti, P 16, 4. 19. 20. 21. 22; 17, 23. 26; 17, 4; 18, 13. 19. 20. 21. 22. 24. 26.
- Ploti, (acc.), P 17, 41; 18, 41.
- Plotius, P 17, 27; 18, 27.
- plus, (nom.), P 17, 38; 18, 38; Av 20, 37; 21, 37; V 23, 38; 25, 38; S 28, 34; Aq 30, 33.
- Plutoni, P 17, 4; Av 19, 4; 20, 4; V 22, 4; 24, 4; S 27, 4; Aq 29, 4.
- Plutonis, P 16, 1; 17, 1; Av 19, 1; 20, 1; V 22, 1; 24, 1; S 27, 1; Aq 28, 1; 29, 1.
- pollicearis, Av 21, 15; V 22, 15; 24, 15.
- polliciarus, P 16, 13; 18, 13; S 25, 12; 27, 12; Aq 28, 12; 30, 12; see pollicearis.
- poreum, P 16, 15; 18, 15; Av 21, 16; V 22, 16; 24, 16; S 27, 14; Aq 30, 14.
- possit, P 16, 4; 17, 26. 28. 32. 33. 34. 37. 44; 18, 26. 28. 30. 32. 33. 34. 37; 19, 44; Av 20, 25. 27. 31. 32. 36. 43; 20, 5; 21, 25. 27. 29. 36; 22, 43; V 22, 5; 23, 27. 29. 31. 32. 38. 47; 24, 5. 27. 29. 31; 25, 33. 34. 38. 47; S 26, 24. 26; 27, 4. 23. 24. 26. 28; 28, 29. 30. 33. 41; Aq 28, 4; 29, 4; 30, 23. 25. 26. 28. 29. 30. 32; 31, 39; F nos. 98, 168, p. 32; no. 131, p. 31.
- Proserpina, (voc.), P 16, 1. 10. 11. 17. 19. 20. 21; 17, 23. 24; 17, 1; 18, 10. 11. 17. 19. 20. 21. 23. 24; Av 19, 1. 11. 12. 19. 20. 21. 22; 20, 1; 21, 11. 12. 19. 20. 21. 22; 23; V 22, 1. 11 bis. 20. 21. 22; 23, 24. 25; 24, 1. 11 bis. 20. 21. 22. 24. 25; 25, 42; S 26, 15; 27, 1. 9. 10. 15. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21; Aq 28, 1; 29, 17. 18. 20; 30, 9. 10. 15. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21; F no. 58, p. 31; nos. 98, 163, p. 32.
- protinus, Av 20, 6; V 22, 6; 24, 6.
- pulchra, (voc.), P 16, 1; 17, 1; Av 19, 1; 20, 1; V 22, 1; 24, 1; S 27, 1; Aq 29, 1.
- pulmones, (acc.), P 17, 30; 18, 30; Av 20, 29; 21, 29; V 23, 31; 24, 31; S 27, 26; Aq 29, 26; 30, 26.
- pupillas, P 18, 23; Av 19, 23; 21, 23; V 23, 24; 24, 24; S 26, 20; 27, 20; Aq 29, 20; 30, 20.
- quare, P 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27, 8; Aq 28, 8; 30, 8.
- quartanae, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6; Av 19, 7; 21, 7; V 22, 7; 24, 7; S 25, 5; 27, 5; Aq 28, 5; 29, 5.
- quas=quae, P 16, 7; 17, 7; Av 19, 8; 21, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; S 25, 6; 27, 6; Aq 30, 6.
- qui, (rel. pr.), P 16, 13; 18, 13; Av 21, 14; V 22, 14; 24, 14; S 27, 12; Aq 30, 12.
- quicquid=aliquid, (acc.), P 17, 39; 18, 39; Av 19, 6; 20, 38; 20, 6; 21, 38; V 22, 6; 24, 6; 25, 40; S 27, 5; Aq 29, 5; 31, 5.
- quicquid=aliquid, (acc.), S 26, 35; 28, 35; see quicquid.
- quid, (inter. pr., nom.), P 17, 27; 18, 27; Av 20, 26; 21, 26; V 23, 28; 24, 28; S 26, 23; 27, 23; Aq 30, 23. 27.
- quit, (inter. pr., nom.), P 17, 30; 18, 30; Av 20, 30; 21, 30; V 23, 31; 24, 31; S 26, 26; see quid.
- quid = aliquid, (acc.), Av 20, 29; 21, 29.
- quomodo, P 17, 39; 18, 39; Av 20, 38; 21, 38; V 23, 40; 25, 40; S 28, 35; Aq 31, 35.
- sacrum, (acc. neut.), P 17, 34; 18, 34; Av 20, 32; 21, 32; V 25, 34; S 26, 29; 28, 29; Aq 29, 29; 30, 29.
- Saluia, (voc.), P 16, 19. 20. 22; 17, 23; 18, 17. 19. 20. 22. 23. 24; Av 19, 18. 19. 20. 22. 23. 24; 21, 18. 19. 20. 22. 23. 24; V 22, 18. 20. 21; 23, 23. 24. 25; 24, 18. 20. 21. 23. 24. 25; S 26, 17. 18. 19; 27,



17. 18. 19. 20. 21; Aq 30, 15. 17.  
18. 19. 20. 21.
- Saluiam, P 16, 2; 17, 2; Av 20, 2;  
V 22, 2; 24, 2; S 27, 2; Aq 29, 2.
- salutem, P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3;  
20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 27, 2;  
Aq 28, 2; 29, 2.
- sana, (nom.), Aq 30, 29.
- sanus, P 17, 33; 18, 33; S 28, 29.
- scapulae = scapulas, V 23, 33; 25,  
33; see scapulas.
- scapulas, P 17, 32; 18, 32; Av 20,  
31; 21, 31; S 26, 28; 27, 28; Aq  
30, 28.
- scripsit, P 18, 40; Av 20, 39; 21,  
39; V 23, 40; 25, 40; S 28, 36;  
Aq 29, 35; 31, 35.
- scriptum, (sc. fuerit), P 17, 39;  
18, 39; Av 20, 37; 21, 37; V 23,  
39; 25, 39; S 26, 34; 28, 34; Aq  
29, 34; 30, 34.
- se, (acc.), P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20,  
28; 21, 28; V 23, 30; 24, 30; S  
27, 25; Aq 30, 25.
- sei = si, P 16, 16; 18, 16; Av 19,  
16; 21, 16; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S  
27, 14; Aq 30, 14.
- seic = sic, P 17, 40; 18, 40; Av 20,  
39; 21, 39; V 25, 41; S 26, 36;  
28, 36; Aq 29, 36; 31, 36.
- seine = sine, P 16, 10. 11; 17, 38  
bis; 18, 10. 11. 38 bis; Av 19, 11.  
12; 20, 36. 37; 21, 11. 12. 36. 37;  
V 23, 11. 12; 23, 38. 39; 24, 11.  
12; 25, 38. 39; S 25, 9; 26, 33;  
27, 9. 10; 28, 33. 34; Aq 28, 9;  
29, 34; 30, 9. 10. 33. 34; F no.  
169, p. 32.
- seine = siue = uelsi, P 16, 2; 17, 2;  
Av 19, 2; 20, 2; V 22, 2; 24, 2;  
S 25, 1; 27, 1; Aq 28, 1; 29, 1.
- sentique = sentire, P 17, 30.
- sentire, P 18, 30; Av 20, 29; 21, 29;  
V 23, 31; 24, 31; S 26, 26; 27,  
26; Aq 30, 26.
- sibi, P 17, 31; 18, 27. 31; Av 20,  
26. 30; 21, 26. 30; V 23, 28; 24,  
28. 31; S 27, 23. 27; Aq 30,  
24. 27.
- stare, P 17, 37; 18, 37; Av 21, 36;  
V 23, 38; 25, 38; S 28, 33; Aq  
29, 33; 30, 33.
- sua, (abl.), P 18, 37; Av 20, 36;  
21, 36; V 25, 38; S 28, 33; Aq  
29, 33; 30, 33.
- sueis = suis, (abl.), P 16, 5; 17, 5;  
Av 19, 5; 20, 5; V 22, 5; 24, 5;  
S 25, 4; 27, 4; Aq 29, 4.
- supercilia, (acc.), P 16, 21; 18, 21;  
Av 19, 21; 21, 21; V 22, 22; 24,  
22; S 27, 19; Aq 29, 18; 30, 18.
- talos, P 18, 36; Av 20, 35; 21, 35;  
V 23, 37; 25, 37; S 28, 32; Aq 30,  
32.
- te, (acc.), P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 21,  
15; V 24, 15; S 27, 13; Aq 30, 13.
- tertianae, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6; Av  
19, 7; 21, 7; V 22, 7; 24, 7; S  
27, 6; Aq 30, 6.
- tibi, P 16, 10. 18. 20. 21; 17, 41;  
18, 10. 17. 18. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.  
41; Av 19, 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23.  
24; 20, 40; 21, 11. 18. 19. 20. 21.  
22. 23. 24; 22, 40; V 22, 11. 18.  
19. 20. 22; 23, 23. 24. 25; 24, 11.  
18. 19. 20. 22. 24. 25; 25, 42; S  
26, 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 37; 27,  
9. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21; 28,  
37; Aq 29, 17. 18. 21; 30, 9. 15.  
16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21; 31, 36.
- tibias, P 17, 36; 18, 36; Av 20, 34;  
21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36; S 26,  
31; 28, 31; Aq 29, 31; 30, 31.
- tradas, P 16, 4; 17, 42. 44; 17, 4. 5;  
19, 42, 44; Av 19, 4; 20, 40. 42;  
20, 4. 6; 22, 40. 42; V 22, 4. 6;  
23, 46; 24, 4. 6; 25, 43. 46; S 25,  
3; 26, 40; 27, 3. 5; 28, 38. 40;  
Aq 29, 37; 29, 4. 5; 31, 37. 39.
- trado, P 16, 10; 17, 41; 18, 10. 41;  
Av 19, 11; 20, 40; 21, 11; 22,  
40; V 22, 11; 23, 43; 24, 11; 25,  
43; S 25, 9; 26, 37; 27, 9; 28,  
37; Aq 28, 9; 30, 9; 31, 36.
- tres, (acc.), P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 19,  
15; 21, 15; V 22, 15; 24, 15; S 27,  
13; Aq 30, 13.
- tricepitem, P 16, 13; 18, 13; V 22,  
13; 24, 13; A 28, 11; 30, 11; see  
tricipitem.
- tricipitem, Av 19, 14; 21, 14; S  
27, 12.
- tuo, (dat.), P 16, 4; 17, 4; Av 19, 5;  
20, 5; V 24, 5; S 27, 4; Aq 29, 4.
- uenter = uentrem, P 17, 31; 18, 31;  
Av 20, 30; 21, 30; V 23, 32; 25,  
32; S 26, 27; 27, 27; Aq 30, 27.
- Vesonia, (nom.), V 23, 28; 24, 28;  
see Maxima.
- Vesoniae, (gen.), V 22, 4. 14. 19. 21;  
23, 23. 24. 27; 24, 4. 14. 19. 21.  
23. 24. 27; see Maximae.
- Vesoniacs, V 22, 22; 24, 22.

- Vesoniam, V 23, 42; 25, 42; see Maximam.
- victimam, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 27, 8; Aq 30, 9.
- victimās, P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 19, 15; 21, 15; V 22, 15; 24, 15; S 27, 13; Aq 30, 13.
- uidere, P 19, 46; Av 20, 44; 22, 44; V 23, 48; 25, 48; S 28, 42; Aq 31, 40.
- uincant, P 18, 8, Av 19, 9; 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 25, 7; 27, 7; Aq 28, 7; 30, 7.
- uires, (acc.), P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 27, 3; Aq 29, 3.
- uiro, (dat.), P 16, 4; 17, 4; Av 19, 5; 20, 5; V 22, 5; 24, 5; S 27, 4; Aq 29, 4.
- uirtute, P 17, 38; Av 20, 36; 21, 36; V 23, 38; 25, 38; S 26, 33; 28, 33; Aq 30, 33.
- uirtutes, (acc.), P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 4; 20, 4; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 25, 3; 27, 3; Aq 29, 3.
- uiscum = uiscus, (acc.), P 17, 33; 18, 33; Av 20, 32; 21, 32; V 23, 34; 25, 34; S 26, 29; 28, 29; Aq 29, 29; 30, 29.
- uitare, P 16, 5; 17, 5; Av 19, 6; 20, 6; V 24, 6; S 27, 5; Aq 29, 5.
- ullum, (acc. masc.), P 17, 45; 19, 45; Av 20, 43; 22, 43; V 23, 47; 25, 47; S 26, 41; 28, 41; Aq 31, 40.
- umblicus = umbilicus, (acc.), P 17, 31; 18, 31; Av 20, 31; 21, 31; V 23, 32; 25, 32; S 26, 27; 27, 27; Aq 30, 27.
- umeros, P 17, 27; 18, 27; Av 20, 26; 21, 26; V 23, 29; 24, 29; S 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.
- ungis = ungues (pedum), (acc.), P 17, 37; 18, 37; Av 20, 35; 21, 35; V 23, 37; 25, 37; S 28, 32; Aq 30, 32.
- urinam, P 17, 34; 18, 34; Av 20, 33; 21, 33; V 23, 34; 25, 34; S 28, 30; Aq 30, 30.
- usque, P 16, 8; 18, 8; Av 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 25, 7; 27, 7; Aq 28, 7; 30, 7.
- ut, P 17, 42; 19, 42; Av 20, 40; 22, 40; V 25, 43; S 27, 38; Aq 31, 37.
- uxsor, (voc.), P 16, 1; 17, 1; Av 19, 2; 20, 2; V 22, 1; 24, 1; S 27, 1; Aq 28, 1; 29, 1.

To locate in the tablets the words of the remaining sections of the Indices consult the Index Verborum.

## II

## RES MAGICA.

## Names of persons defixed.

Aquillia.  
Auonia.  
Maxima Vesonia.  
Plotius (seruus) Auoniae.

## Names and epithets of deities.

(Cerberum).  
canem tricepitem.  
Febri.  
cottidianae.  
quartanae.  
tertianae.  
Plutoni.  
uiro tuo (sc. Proserpinae)  
Proserpina.  
Acheru(o)siam.  
bona.  
Plutonīs uxor.  
pulchra.  
Saluia.

## Formulae deuotoriae.

Representing (a) the action of the defixens.

do.  
mandauit.  
mando.  
scripsit.  
scriptum fuerit.  
trado.

(b) the wish of the defixens.

disperdat.  
exse(a)t.  
perdat.

(c) the action of the deities.

deluctent.  
eripiant.  
eripiat.  
euincant.  
luctent.

mandes.  
tradas.  
uincant.

Human members and faculties de-  
fixed.

animam.  
anum.  
bracchia.  
caput.  
collum.  
colorem.  
cor.  
corpus.  
crura.  
dentes.  
digitos (manuum).  
digitos (pedum).  
femina.  
frontem.  
genua.  
intestina.  
iocinera.  
labra.  
labras.  
latera.  
liguam.  
linguam.

nares.  
nasum.  
natis.  
orielas.  
orielulas.  
palpebras.  
palpetras.  
pectus.  
pedes.  
plantas.  
pulmones.  
pupillas.  
salutem.  
scapulae.  
scapulas.  
supercilia.  
talos.  
tibias.  
uenter.  
uires.  
uirtute.  
uirtutes.  
uiscum sacrum.  
umblicus.  
umeros.  
ungis.  
urinam.

## III

## RES GRAMMATICA.

## Letters changed.

## Vowels.

e for i, tricepitem = tricipitem.  
i for e, natis = nates.  
polliciarus = pollicearis.  
ungis = ungues.  
o for i, iocinera = iecora.  
u for i, polliciarus = pollicearis.

## Consonants.

t for b, palpetras = palpebras.  
t for d, aliquid = aliqid.  
quicquit = quicquid.  
quit = quid.

## Letters omitted within words.

## Vowels.

a, exset = exseat.  
i, umblicus = umbilicus.  
u, orielas = orielulas.  
ungis = ungues.

## Consonants.

n, li(n)guam.

## Final letters dropped.

## Consonants.

m, compote(m).  
lingua(m).  
mense(m).

## Letters inserted.

## Vowels.

o, Acheru < o > siam.

## Consonants.

s, ex < s > e(a)t.  
ux < s > or.

## Non-gemination.

## Consonants.

c, e(c)cillunc.

## Final syllable dropped.

Ploti(um).

## Incorrect spelling.

sentiquē = sentire.

## Form of declension.

1st. gen., Auoniaes.

Vesonias.

2nd. gen., Ploti(i).

acc., Ploti(um).

3rd. abl., mensi.

acc. pl., femina.

iocinera.

natis.

ungis.

## Pronouns.

dat., me = mihi.

acc., e(c)illunc.

illunc.

illanc.

## Declensions confused.

labras = labra.

uiscum = uiscus.

## Archaisms.

ei for ī, deicere, nei, sei, seic,  
seine, sueis.

i for e, ni.

## Syntax.

## Casé.

nom. for acc. scapulae = scapulas.  
uenter = uentrem.umblicus = umbili-  
cum.

acc. for nom. quas = quae.

## Gender.

masc. for neut. uiscum = uiscus.

fem. for neut. labras = labra.

neut. for masc. uenter = uentrem.

## Conjugation.

## Form.

exset = ex &lt;s&gt; e(a)t.

## Deponent verbs as active.

deluctent.

luctent.

## Transitive verbs as intransitive.

disperdat.

perdat.

## Miscellaneous.

quicquid = aliquid.

quid = aliquid.

seive = uel si.



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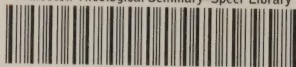
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